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ERRATA

Page 23, insert the following text to replace the paragraph in the middle of Page 23.

Lewis Tappan was treasurer of the Association for eighteen years from 1846. He was one of the seven notable Tappan brothers from Northampton, Massachusetts, of whom the most famous were Lewis, Arthur, and Benjamin, United States Senator from Ohio. Lewis and Arthur were partners in both the abolition movement and business, and made large fortunes as silk merchants in New York City. Most of their wealth was expended during their life in the promotion of reform and benevolent enterprises. Closely associated with Charles Grandison Finney and Theodore Dwight Weld, they had been the chief patrons of Lane Seminary in Ohio, and transferred their generous support to Oberlin College and the Lane abolitionist rebels enrolled at that institution. They had also been prominent in the formation and leadership of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but led the secession from that body when the Garrison group associated other issues such as women's rights with the anti-slavery cause and adopted anti-church policies and non-evangelical views. Lewis Tappan maneuvered the formation of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and Arthur became its president.

Arthur Tappan served as chairman of the A. M. A.'s executive committee from 1846 to 1857, when he was elected vice-president. Lewis, born in 1788, was two years younger than Arthur, and he has been generally regarded as having played the less important role of the two in the abolition crusade; but he was by all means the most important officer of the American Missionary Association, and recent studies indicate that his place in the anti-slavery movement as a whole was the more significant. As an original member of the Amistad committee, and later the corresponding secretary of the Union Mission Society and member of the Committee for West Indian Missions, he was one of the foremost advocates of the free missions cause, far in advance of most of his abolitionist friends in withdrawing support from the American Board, and took the lead in the formation of the A. M. A. As treasurer of the A. M. A., he received no financial remunerations, having resigned from active

business to live on the income from his properties and devote his whole time and energy to benevolence. His philosophy on benevolence and stewardship was expounded in two tracts, *Be Your Own Executor* and *Is It Right to Be Rich?,* which he wrote and circulated. His thoroughness and shrewd business abilities made him an ideal treasurer for the Association, and he was largely responsible for its early growth and prosperity, as well as being the most influential individual in determining policies.

Many of his contemporaries regarded Lewis Tappan as obsessed with one idea — the abolition of slavery, but the truth is that religion was the all absorbing interest of his life and the motivation for his abolitionism. He was converted to evangelical Christianity by the preaching of Lyman Beecher after having been a Unitarian follower of William Ellery Channing in his youth. He came under the influence of Finney in 1830, and was one of the most devoted disciples, as well as patrons, of the great evangelist. He maintained a high level of personal piety, and practically demanded saintly conduct on the behalf of the Association's missionaries.

Page 28, line 9, the date should be 1930 instead of 1830.

Page 29, line 28 should read as follows:
"Of the twenty-five missionaries commissioned for *the East before"*

Introduction

In the spring of 1966, the faculty of LeMoyne College voted to center the Fall Faculty Conference around the theme: "Our American Missionary Heritage." Dr. Clifton Johnson, now archivist of the American Missionary papers at Fisk University, was invited to give a short history of the American Missionary Association. Dr. Juanita Williamson, because of her having attended LeMoyne as a grammar school, high school and finally as a college student, was asked to show how the philosophy of the American Missionary Association is expressed in a college such as LeMoyne. Finally, Dr. Wesley Hotchkiss, the General Secretary of the American Missionary Association, was requested to chart the present course and future of the American Missionary Association.

The three papers presented here, together, give an excellent overview of the American Missionary Association, its philosophy and raison d'etre *and how these are reflected in the work of one of its colleges.*

The Association has a long and honored history in human relations and education. Its contributions over a long period are too little known by too few.

It is helpful to have the observations of three competent scholars, each of whom has had a long dedicated relationship to the work of the American Missionary Association through service to its colleges.

Hollis F. Price, *President*
LeMoyne College
Memphis, Tenn.

La Amistad

Institutions and programs which today retain a close tie with The American Missionary Association are:

Dillard University
New Orleans, La. 70122

Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn. 37208

Huston-Tillotson College
Austin, Texas 78702

LeMoyne College
Memphis, Tenn. 38106

Talladega College
Talladega, Ala. 35160

Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Miss. 39174

Amistad Research Center
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn. 37208

Citizenship Education Project
Dorchester Center
McIntosh, Ga.

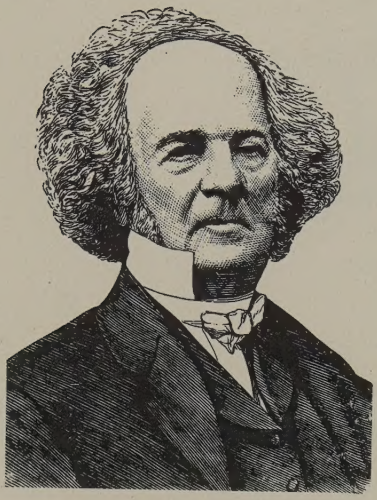
Flint-Goodridge Hospital
of Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

Dorchester Center
McIntosh, Ga.

Franklinton Center
Bricks, N. C. 27815

Ryder Memorial Hospital
Humacao, Puerto Rico 00661

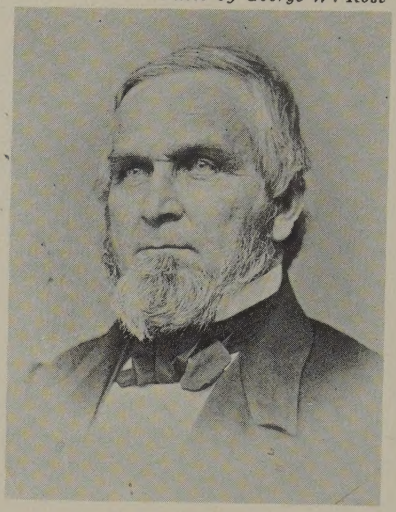
United Scholarship Service, Inc.
Denver, Colo. 80203



LEWIS TAPPAN

LEWIS TAPPAN helped form the original Amistad Committee and, later, the American Missionary Association.

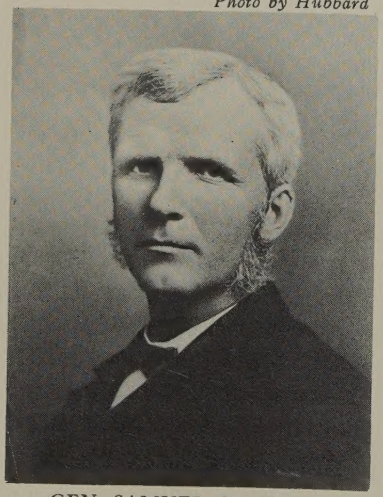
Photo by George W. Rose



GEORGE WHIPPLE, D.D.

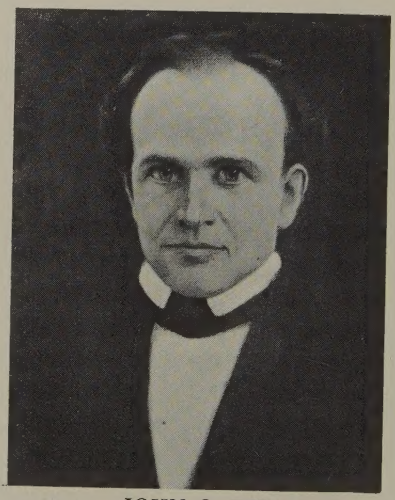
GEORGE WHIPPLE, D.D., was the first Corresponding Secretary of the AMA.

Photo by Hubbard



GEN. SAMUEL CHAPMAN ARMSTRONG

GEN. SAMUEL CHAPMAN ARMSTRONG had responsibility for freed slaves who were settled at Fortress Monroe. He helped organize and became the first president of Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute.



JOHN G. FEE

JOHN G. FEE, an AMA missionary in Kentucky, organized Berea College.

the American Missionary Association

a short history

The origins and early history of the American Missionary Association are part and parcel of the movement for the abolition of slavery. The background and rise of the abolition movement is an interesting chapter in American history, but it need not be told here. It should be noted, however, that with the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 the crusade against slavery became the most significant reform movement in America in a period that has been variously called "The Era of Reform" or "The Era of the Common Man" or "The Age of Jacksonian Democracy." This is not to say that abolitionism was universally popular, even outside the slave states. On the contrary, the abolitionists comprised a small minority of Americans of the Northern states as late as the outbreak of the Civil War, and the abolitionist was generally regarded as an irresponsible fanatic, who frequently was the victim of mob attacks. Nevertheless, the moral fervor of the abolitionists was a potent force and their number was not insignificant. In 1835 there were 200 local auxiliaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society; the following year there were 500 auxiliaries of the Society; by 1840 there were 2,000 auxiliaries with between 150,000 and 200,000 members, and the income of the national organization was $47,000. The reason for the tremendous growth of abolitionism was its peculiar appeal — of all the social evils that attracted reformers of the period, slavery most obviously violated the teachings of Jesus Christ and the sentiments of American democracy as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

The American Anti-Slavery Society was based on four cardinal principles of abolitionism. (1) All men are equal in the sight of God and slavery violates the principle of Christian brotherhood. Therefore, the institution of slavery was a national sin and the individual slaveholders were guilty of personal sin. Salvation and repentance required immediate abolition of slavery. (2) There was no basis for the popular belief

that the Negro did not have the mental and moral capacity to become a useful and creative member of society as a free man. (3) Slaveholders, regardless of circumstances, should not be compensated for liberating their slaves. To do so would be to recognize the enslavement of man as a property right. (4) Justice required that the slave be compensated for his loss of freedom. He must be assisted in gaining economic independence and educated for responsible citizenship.

While all abolitionists shared the above principles, manifestations of differences regarding methods and other questions appeared early in abolitionist ranks. The major differences, which produced the great schism of 1840, were in religious and political views.

The formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society had been accomplished largely through the work of evangelical abolitionists whose leadership was concentrated in New York City, upstate New York and the northwestern states. The principal leaders of this group were two wealthy New York merchants, Arthur and Lewis Tappan. Other prominent evangelical abolitionists were Theodore Dwight Weld, Amos A. Phelps, James G. Birney, Elizur Wright, Joshua Leavitt, William Goodell, Simeon S. Jocelyn, Henry Highland Garnet, Samuel Ringgold War, James W. C. Pennington, Ames G. Beman, Charles B. Ray, and Samuel E. Cornish. A second group of abolitionists, whose recognized leader was William Lloyd Garrison, was concentrated in New England. Although the Garrisonites were prominent in the early history of the American Anti-Slavery Society, they were not as influential in determining the policies and growth of the Society as were the evangelical group.

The evangelical abolitionists were greatly influenced by the teachings of the revivalist, Charles Grandison Finney, especially his doctrine of Christian perfectionism, which they interpreted as giving sanction to political action as well as moral suasion in bringing about social reform. Holding that the fundamental truths of the Declaration of Independence were written into the Constitution of the United States, and that the only support for the institution of slavery was legislation of the individual states, the evangelical abolitionists considered voting a moral and religious duty to be used for electing men who would work for abolition of slavery and the repeal of all legislation which discriminated on the basis of race.

On the other hand, the Garrisonites regarded the Constitutional Convention of 1787 as a counter-revolution against the ideas of the Declaration of Independence. They maintained that the compromises on slavery, written into the Constitution, betrayed the basic philosophy of the American Revolution. Therefore, they reasoned that since the fundamental law of the United States violated human rights and Christian principles it could not be regarded as valid law, and true Christians must not only refuse to participate in the American political process but must also withdraw from the unholy compact of union, which Garrison called a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell."

The attitudes of the evangelical abolitionists and Garrisonites concerning the American churches were as fundamentally and radically different as were their political views. Although not without Christian sentiments and motivation, Garrison and his followers had become convinced by 1840 that the existing churches of the United States were dominated by the pro-slavery power, and that they were as firmly wedded to slavery and other social evils that they were no longer susceptible to reformation. Garrison denounced organized religion in America as "a religion which quadrates with the natural depravity of the heart, giving license to sin, restraining no lust . . . engendering selfishness, and cruelty! . . . A religion which has no courage, no faithfulness, no self-denial, deeming it better to give heed unto men than unto God." The philosophy and purpose of the Garrisonites is clearly revealed by the following resolutions passed by the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1844:

> *Whereas* no institution is more hostile to the anti-slavery movement than the professedly Christian Church in this country; and whereas, from her prominent position, her deep hold upon the affections of the people, and her immense influence, she ought to be the first among the foremost in the ranks of freedom: and whereas, by continuing our connection with so base an institution, we do thereby surround the system of American slavery with holy sanction, and entrench it behind religious bulwarks; therefore
>
> *Resolved,* As the deliberate opinion of this Society that it is the duty of every true abolitionist, to withdraw entirely from the support of said institution, and to hold her up before the people, as hypocritical in profession, infamous in practice, as having usurped the name of Christian Church, and as being one of the greatest obstacles in the way of immediate emancipation.
>
> *Resolved,* That fourteen years of warfare against the slave power,

> have convinced us . . . that the only exodus of the slave to freedom, unless, it be one of blood must be over the ruins of the present American Church, and the grave of the present Union.

It is significant that the Garrisonites made a wholesale denunciation of the American churches and refused to acknowledge that some of the churches had adopted distinct anti-slavery positions. They also failed to follow up their advocacy of "come-outism" with a proposal for organizing new churches based on abolitionist principles. Under these conditions, it is understandable that their enemies, including many evangelical abolitionists, concluded that, under the guise of abolitionism, the real purposes of Garrison and his followers was to destroy Christianity in America.

The evangelical abolitionist also lamented that the support given by American churches to slavery and maintained that such practice was a perversion of Christian principles. They condemned the institution of slavery as a social sin, and insisted that the act of slaveholding *per se* was always and everywhere a sin, regardless of the circumstances which had brought the relationship into being and the conditions under which it continued. In other words, sanction by law did not relieve the individual slaveholder of guilt. Consequently, the attacks of the evangelical abolitionists on the churches and religious bodies that acquiesced in the laws supporting slavery and tolerated slaveholders within their ranks were as vehement and sustained as the attacks of the Garrisonites, but there were two important differences. First, the evangelicals recognized that all churches were not guilty of apostasy on slavery. Second, they maintained that while the reformation of all churches should be immediate and complete it must be accomplished from within. "No fellowship with slaveholders" was the basic program of evangelical abolitionism, and its advocates demanded that the churches rigorously execute discipline on this principle, whatever might be the hazards or the consequences to the social system.

The distinction between the Garrisonites and the evangelical abolitionists is evident. Reduced to its simplest form, the former would have all anti-slavery men come out of the churches, and the latter would have all pro-slavery men thrown out of the churches. The evangelical abolitionists regarded the Garrisonites as infidels, and believed that abolitionism, if it was to

be an effective force in crumbling the citadels of slavery, must be based essentially on Christian principles, and have the support of organized religion. In some cases, when evangelical abolitionists became convinced that their efforts to purify the existing religious bodies were futile, they also favored secession; but then free churches and religious societies were to be established and lend their influence to the campaign to reform the other bodies.

After the great schism in abolitionist ranks in 1840, the Garrisonites dominated the American Anti-Slavery Society, which became only a skeleton of its former self and was never again a major influence in the anti-slavery crusade. The evangelical abolitionists established the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society with its headquarters in New York City. The new society never acquired the strength or influence that the original society had in the 1830's. This, however, was partly by the design of its leaders who felt that the anti-slavery society as such had done its work and that new types of organization and action were demanded. Consequently, they founded in 1840 the Liberty Party for political action and established in 1846 the American Missionary Association for religious action. Before the end of the decade, the American Missionary Association had emerged as the dominant agency of evangelical abolitionism. The Liberty Party declined to a political faction after 1844. The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society survived, but was reduced to occupying a desk in the offices of the American Missionary Association.

By 1845, evangelical abolitionists were frustrated and disillusioned in their efforts to reform American churches. Although their efforts had in part been responsible for the largely sectional divisions that had occurred in the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches, they had not been successful in bringing any major denominations, North or South, to adopt the principle of "no fellowship with slaveholders," While Southern churches were solidly pro-slavery, the predominantly Northern popular denominations, specifically the New School Presbyterians, Methodist, Baptists, and Congregationalists, were moderately anti-slavery in their stated principles. They recognized that the institution of slavery was an evil, and even sinful as practiced by some slaveholders, and that the churches had a responsibility for promoting emancipation, but they did not recognize the act

of slaveholding to be a sin within itself. Slaveholding was regarded as a sin only when the relationship was sustained voluntarily, with evil purpose, and with immoral treatment of the slave. There were within these denominations those who believed that slaveholding was a matter for church discipline, but they would leave the application of discipline to the individual local churches, who should be governed by the circumstances in each case. Others, however, were opposed to excommunication of slaveholders by the churches on the grounds that the removal of the evils of the institution as well as the propagation of anti-slavery principles among those by whom they were most needed, could be best accomplished with the slaveholders in the churches rather than outside of them.

The rationale of the moderate anti-slavery Christian is ably illustrated in the views of Albert Barnes, an outspoken anti-slavery minister of the New School Presbyterian Church. While Barnes stated that "it is probable that slavery could not be sustained in this land if it were not for the countenance, direct and indirect, of the churches," he could at the same time hold up his own denomination, which fellowshipped slaveholders and even had slaveholding ministers, as an example of a church occupying a positive anti-slavery position. This he was able to do on the basis of the repeated testimony against slavery made by the New School General Assembly. Such a position produced consternation among the evangelical abolitionists, who maintained that churches and ecclesiastical bodies that passed resolutions and gave testimony against slavery as an institution, without applying discipline against their pro-slavery members, and especially against slaveholders, had adopted an illogical, insincere and inexcusable position. As they reasoned, "the Church knows the evil, but nevertheless hugs it to her bosom."

Contemporaries were not always careful to distinguish between the evangelical abolitionists and anti-slavery Christians — sometimes because they failed to see the distinctions — and the two groups were generally regarded collectively as anti-slavery advocates or abolitionists. Not infrequently, historians have made the same error. To the evangelical abolitionists, however, the distinction was clear. Except for a few small denominations and societies such as the Quakers, Free Will Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists, Associate Reformed Presbyterians,

United Brethren and American Baptist Free Mission Society, all of whom refused to fellowship slaveholders, the whole Northern church was considered conciliatory and hypocritical on the slavery issue.

While the evangelical abolitionists carried on their reformatory efforts within their various denominations, there developed among them an interdenominational free missions movement. The leaders of the free missions movement seized upon the fact that some of the foreign missionaries had complained that slavery was one of the greatest obstacles they encountered in their efforts to convert the heathen, and argued that if Christian principles were not practiced with sincerity at home they could not be effectively propagated abroad. The movement drew support from members of several denominations, but it was chiefly the work of Congregational and Presbyterian abolitionists, and was aimed specifically at the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Home Missionary Society, and The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. It was felt that these agencies, all of which had been founded in large measure by New England men, and depended upon Northeastern Presbyterians and Congregationalists for the major share of their support, should certainly bear unqualified testimony against slavery if they were to express the views of their supporters. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the American Home Missionary Society were especially regarded as having no reason — or excuse — for temporizing on the issue, since they received no financial support from the South.

The American Bible Society was the first of the voluntary organizations to be attacked by the abolitionists. This Society was founded in 1816 as a non-sectarian organization, which sought the support of all evangelical Christians. Its purpose was to distribute the Bible and religious literature to the destitute in America and the world. The Society announced a systematic drive in 1829 to supply every American home and arriving immigrant with a Bible. Several years later when the successful conclusion of this drive was proclaimed, the abolitionists immediately observed that the Society had made no effort to reach "a sixth part of the inhabitants, in the persons of the slaves, but on the contrary, seemed to ignore their existence." Soon thereafter, in 1843, the American Anti-Slavery

Society offered to give the Bible Society $5,000 to aid in supplying the slaves with the scriptures. The donation was refused with the explanation that the responsibility of distributing the Bible must be left by the parent society to the "wisdom and piety" of the "local associations in the different States and Territories." Petitions on the subject from abolitionists were consistently responded to with the statement that the Society could not establish a special fund for the purpose, or specifically instruct its local auxiliaries to distribute Bibles to slaves.

The American Tract Society, whose colporteurs went into all sections, distributing religious books and tracts to the destitute, was also criticised for neglecting the slaves. This was not the most serious grievance, however, against the Tract Society. It supported most of the reform movements of the day and published tracts against adultery, theft, sabbath-breaking, lotteries, tobacco, gambling, intemperance, dancing, theatrical entertainments, and other "popular sins," but it refused to deal with the subject of slavery, even indirectly, and adopted a policy of censorship by which the board of publication consistently "expurgated every American or English Work it . . . published of every denunciation of Slavery."

The American Home Missionary Society, professing to be a national organization, consciously attempted to avoid taking a stand on the slavery issue that would alienate any section or faction. The Society appointed missionaries without regard to their views on slavery, and supported churches that had slaveholding members along with churches that refused to fellowship slave owners. This neutral position was successful in maintaining the national base of the Society, but it did not ward off the attacks of the abolitionists, and abolitionist ministers found that their principles would not allow them to serve as missionaries under the Society's patronage.

The most concentrated and systematic efforts of the free missions movement were directed at the reformation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This society was not only the oldest, but also the most influential and wealthiest of the great voluntary organizations. It was said that the American Board has "gathered not only a larger income but much larger amount of sympathy than any other missionary or benevolent association in America. . . . It is *the* great charity of the age and nation." This in part explains the absorbing

interest of the evangelical abolitionists in bringing the Board to accept free missions principles.

The agitation against the American Board which began in 1837, continued for two decades. Specific policies of the Board which attracted criticism were (1) the practice of receiving slaveholders as members of the Board and of its mission churches, (2) the practice or receiving contributions from slaveholders, (3) the hiring of the labor of slaves by the missionaries to the American Indians, and (4) the refusal of the Board to condemn the institution of slavery. After receiving numerous petitions on these subjects, the Board explained:

> The Board, in its corporate capacity, as a benevolent and Christian institution, has nothing to do with slavery. It was organized expressly for another object; and to use its influence or its funds for removing slavery, or for bearing upon it would be dishonest.

The free missions movement before 1845 was essentially an effort to reform the existing benevolent societies, and it was conducted chiefly from within the ranks of those organizations by their members and supporters. Meanwhile, however, developments had drawn many evangelical abolitionists into systematic support of several independent missionary enterprises based on abolitionist principles.

The celebrated *Amistad* case produced the first of these enterprises. In the summer of 1839, two residents of Puerto Principe, Cuba, Don Jose Ruiz and Don Pedro Montez, purchased fifty-three Mendians, who had been recently brought from Africa. Ruiz and Montez hired Ramon Ferrer, the owner and captain of the schooner *Amistad,* to transport the Mendians to Guanaja, the intermediate port for Puerto Principe. Three days out from Havana, the Negroes — under the leadership of Cinque, one of their number — mutinied, killed the captain and ship's cook, and forced Ruiz and Montez to steer the ship. Ruiz and Montez were directed to sail on a course due east, the Negroes hoping to reach Sierra Leone. Cinque relied upon the sun to chart the course during the day, but at night the Cubans steered north and west towards the United States. After following this zigzag course for sixty-three days, the *Amistad* anchored off Long Island on August 26, 1839, and Cinque with a detail of the Mendians went ashore for the purpose of replenishing the schooner's supply of fresh water and provisions. Meanwhile rumors of the phantom ship had received publicity in the

American press. While Cinque and his companions were on shore, the *Amistad* was sighted by The United States brig *Washington,* which was patrolling the coast under the command of Lieutenant Thomas R. Gedney. Going aboard to investigate, Lieutenant Gedney found Ruiz and Montez bound in the hold, and from them he heard the story of the mutiny. Gedney immediately seized and disarmed the Negroes and took them and the *Amistad* into port at New London, Connecticut, where he libeled the schooner, its cargo, and the Mendians for salvage. Montez and Ruiz filed counter claim for the Negroes as their slave property, and charged the adult males with murder and piracy. Later, acting on the part of his government, the Spanish minister, Calderon de las Barca, demanded that the *Amistad* be released, and that the cargo, including the Mendians be returned to the Cuban owners. Consequently, the status of the Mendians became not only a case for litigation in the American courts that lasted for over a year, but also the subject of prolonged and delicate discussions between the United States and Spain.

At a meeting of the "friends of liberty," held in New York City in September 1839, Lewis Tappan, Simeon S. Jocelyn, and Joshua Leavitt volunteered to serve as a committee in behalf of the *Amistad* captives. The Mendi Committee appealed to the public for funds, which were to be expended in fighting for the liberation of the Negroes and in providing them with clothing and other necessities. Roger Sherman Baldwin offered his legal services to the committee, and he headed an able legal staff in defending the Mendians against the claims of Ruiz and Montez and of the Spanish government in the United States district and circuit courts. John Quincy Adams was persuaded to join Baldwin in presenting the case to the United States Supreme Court. The decision of that body was delivered on March 19, 1841, in an opinion written by Justice Joseph Story. The Court ruled that the Mendians were free and were to "be dismissed from the custody of this court, and go without delay." But where were the liberated people to go? The efforts of Adams and Baldwin to secure a vessel from the United States government for transporting them back to Africa were unsuccessful. Consequently, the responsibility of providing for the future welfare of these people fell to the abolitionists who had managed their defense.

During the preceding months, teachers employed by their defenders, now called the Mendi Committee, had taught them to read and write, and they had received instruction in the fundamentals of the Christian religion, but they were by no means prepared for gaining a livelihood in American society. Furthermore, most of them earnestly and anxiously desired to return to their homeland. The committee agreed that the wisest and kindest thing to do was to send them to Africa, and it was decided that they must be accompanied by missionaries, who would establish a mission station among the Mendi people. It was recognized that the return of the Mendians to their native land presented an opportunity to strike a blow for the free missions cause. On the ground that the Mendi Committee, having no formal organization and being composed only of volunteers, was not adaptable to assuming the permanent supervision and support of the mission, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was suggested as the society best equipped to undertake the project. The Board's prudential committee was therefore approached with the proposition that it accept the remainder of the defense funds and expend them in transporting the Mendians to Africa and in establishing a missionary post under its supervision. This proposition was rejected, conditioned as it was on the following resolution:

> *Resolved,* That it would be contrary to the feelings and principles of a large majority of . . . donors to the Amistad fund, and of the friends of the liberated Africans, to connect their return with any Missionary Society that solicits or receives donations from slaveholders.

The Mendi Committee then raised additional funds, and on November 27, 1841, the thirty-five surviving Mendians, accompanied by five missionaries and teachers, sailed from New York for Sierra Leone. The Committee pledged itself to support the missionaries until other arrangements could be made. Meanwhile, events not entirely separate from the developments of the *Amistad* case had led to the formation of a free missions society in Hartford, Connecticut.

The Reverend James W. C. Pennington, pastor of the First Colored Congregational Church of Hartford, called his congregation together on May 5, 1841, for the purpose of discussing "the obligations of Christians — colored Christians — to do something in relation to carrying the gospel to Africa." This meeting resulted in a call for a general convention on missions

to Africa, which met in Hartford on August 18, 1841. This convention, composed of forty-three persons, "chiefly people of color," including five of the *Amistad* victims and representatives from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, established the Union Missionary Society. The character of the new organization is indicated by its pronounced aim "to discountenance slavery, and especially by refusing to receive the known fruits of unrequited labor." In addition to promoting African missions, the Union Missionary Society proposed to encourage the evangelization of "those in this country who are prohibited by law from learning to read, and are thus deprived of the privilege of searching the Scriptures." The Reverend Mr. Pennington was chosen president of the organization.

The Union Missionary Society helped to support the Mendi mission from its beginning, and negotiations directed at merging the Mendi Committee with the new organization were soon opened. This was accomplished by the Society making some changes in its constitution, and moving its offices to New York City. The Mendi Committee was absorbed in September, 1842. Pennington retained the presidency of the Society, and Lewis Tappan, the foremost leader of the free movement, became its treasurer. The Union Missionary Society supported the Mendi mission and contributed some support to missionary activities among the Negroes of New York City and fugitive slaves in Canada.

Another free mission society was established by the Western Reserve Congregational Association in 1843. Frederick Ayer, a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions among the Ojibway Indians of Minnesota, visited Oberlin College in 1842. Ayer presented the urgent demands of his field, and called upon some of the pious graduates of Oberlin to seize this opportunity to do God's work. The plea was favorably received by the Oberlin students, and more than twenty of them offered their services to the American Board for work among the Ojibways. They were all refused commissions, however, chiefly because of the objections of the Board to Finney perfectionism, the theology taught at Oberlin. Some of the more determined of the students then presented the question to the Western Reserve Association at the annual meeting of 1843, and asked the Association to provide the means

for supporting missionary work among the Indians. The Association proceeded to adopt a constitution and organize the Western Evangelical Missionary Society. This Society, which was to be "in correspondence with the Union Missionary Society," was "to prosecute missionary operations among the western Indians, and in other parts of the world, as God in his [sic] providence shall open the way and provide the means." Article VII of the constitution stated: "The Society shall not solicit or knowingly receive the wages of oppression, especially the price of the bodies and souls of men, for the prosecution of the work of the Lord."

The Western Evangelical Missionary Society was largely an Oberlin organization. Francis D. Parish, a Sandusky lawyer, and a trustee of Oberlin, was chosen president of the Society. Nine of the ten members of its executive committee, including the chairman, George Whipple, were members of the Oberlin faculty. The missionaries came almost exclusively from Oberlin. On July 26, 1843, the executive committee commissioned eight men and women and they departed for work among the Ojibways. During the following year, nine reinforcements were sent out by the Society. Six of the missionaries received appointments and support from the United States government, but the others, and the mission stations that they established, were supported entirely by the new organization.

In 1844, a Committee for West Indian Missions was formed to support a mission already in existence among the emancipated people of Jamaica. Five Congregational ministers, with the wives of four of them, all of whom were former students of Oberlin, had removed to Jamaica in 1839 with the expressed intention of engaging in missionary labor and receiving their entire support from the emancipated people whom they proposed to serve. The ministers were seen supervising five mission stations in the vicinity of Kingston, four of which they had established; but they were disappointed in their expectations of receiving support from the natives. Consequently, these men and women were reduced to distressing circumstances, and forced to anticipate giving up the work for which there appeared to be such a great need. There was no agency in the United States at the time to which they could appeal for support. The American Board not only objected to their theological views, but that organization also restricted its missionary opera-

tions to work among unevangelized peoples. The Negroes of Jamaica did not fall into this classification since they had been introduced to the Christian religion while in slavery. Abolitionists in the United States were greatly interested in the success of the West Indian experiment in emancipation as an example to their own countrymen, and were concerned about the moral development of the Negroes. Hence, when the plight of Jamaican Mission was brought to his attention in 1843, Amos A. Phelps organized the Committee for West Indian Missions for the support of the missionaries and their work.

Each of the above agencies had been established to supply a specific need, and no one of them was large enough to attract general attention and win wide support. Many of their supporters, and some of their officers, remained loyal to the older missionary societies. The aim of the free missions movement was the reformation of the older societies, not the proliferation of missionary bodies. Of the three new agencies, only the Western Evangelical Missionary Society was designed with the idea of having a long or permanent existence. Its appeal was confined almost exclusively to the churches affiliated with the Western Reserve Association, and its officers maintained that its purpose was not "to batter down or undermine" other missionary organizations. The Society's appeal for support was based chiefly on the grounds that its locality gave it "peculiar facilities for sustaining missions" among the Indians of the Northwest, and that it would feel no restraint in appointing missionaries who believed in "the present attainability of entire sanctification." The nature of the Committee for West Indian Missions was by no means such as to promise a permanent existence, and it expressed no opposition to existing missionary societies. The Union Missionary Society had a formal organization, but it was popularly regarded as simply the "Mendi Society," and even its founders considered it no more than a "temporary arrangement" to meet a special need until the time when the American Board should adopt practices that were distinctly anti-slavery. Consolidation of the three bodies would have had definite advantage, but there was no proposal for such a union until after the annual meeting of the American Board in 1845.

Pressed by petitions on the subject, the American Board had appointed a committee in 1844 to study the question of fellowshipping slaveholders in the mission churches among the In-

dians. The committee reported that there were 15 slaveholders and 21 slaves in the Cherokee mission churches, and 20 slaveholders and 131 slaves in the churches of the Choctaw missions. The report stated that the missionaries gave no special instructions on slavery or the duties of masters to their slaves, fearing that it "would seem to be personal" to the slaveholding members if the subject was given a "peculiar prominence." It was the recommendation of the committee that no action be taken by the Board on fellowshipping slaveholders or discipling church members, but urged that these matters be left entirely to the discretion of the missionaries. The recommendation was adopted by unanimous vote. The reaction of evangelical abolitionists was that the time had come for Christians to adopt the *"double policy of reorganization without, and re-agitation and remonstrance within."* With this idea in mind, plans were made for a free missions convention, and a call was issued through the anti-slavery press to the "Friends of Bible Missions in the State of New York." Although the idea for this convention apparently originated with the officers of the Anti-Slavery Society in New York City, it was endorsed by 110, or more, individuals from throughout the state. There was still some doubt among the abolitionists in regard to the expediency of openly advocating secession from the American Board and the organization of an opposing society. It was guardedly stated that the purpose of the convention would be to remonstrate against the practices of the Board, and to consider "such practical measures as may seem best to give practical effect to the same."

The convention assembled in the Congregation Church of Syracuse on February 18, 1846. Gerrit Smith was chosen president and Amos A. Phelps read the principal address. Phelps recounted the grievances against the American Board, criticised it for tolerating slavery, polygamy, caste, and idolatry, and called upon its officers and supporters to inquire *"whether the Christianity they were sending from land to land is not loaded with fatal disparagement, such as forbids its wide extension!"* Phelps also read a letter from Lewis Tappan. Tappan was not noted for timidity, and he did not hesitate to advocate a clean break with the American Board. Acting on the part of the Union Missionary Society, he proposed that either that Society should be adopted as the agency for the free missions enterprise, and en-

larged to embrace an elaborate system of home and foreign missions, or that another society be organized, "founded on such principles as will enlist the confidence, aid and prayers of all anti-slavery Christians in the world." Moderates dominated the convention, however, and they were not ready for secession and reorganization. As a result, the convention commended the Union Missionary Society to the confidence and support of the Christian public and urged those who deemed it their duty to retain connections with the American Board to be "more and more earnest in their inquiries as to the actual practices of the several Missions." This did not satisfy the radical abolitionists, and succeeded in getting a committee appointed by the Syracuse convention to arrange for a general missionary convention to meet later in the year.

The "Second Convention for Bible Missions" met in the Baptist Church on State Street in Albany, New York, on September 2 and 3, 1846. It was composed of fifty-two members, apparently a much smaller number than had attended the convention in Syracuse. The geographical representation was wider, however, than had been the case at the earlier convention, which had consisted almost exclusively of residents of the state of New York. Although the majority at Albany were also from New York, there were some present from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. Representatives from the Union Missionary Society, the Western Evangelical Missionary Society, and the Committee for West Indian Missions were also included in the membership.

A most significant distinction between the Syracuse and Albany conventions was that less diversity in opinions was found in the latter. The members were all radical abolitionists, unrestrained by the temporizing spirit of the moderates, who had prevented the formation of a new society at Syracuse. They proceeded to write a constitution establishing the American Missionary Association, which was adopted by unanimous vote. The Association was to conduct both home and foreign missionary work. Article VIII of the constitution provided:

> This Society, in collecting funds, in appointing officers, agents and missionaries, and in selecting fields of labor and conducting the missionary work, will endeavor particularly to discountenance slavery, by refusing to receive the known fruits of unrequited labor, or to welcome to its employment those who hold their fellow beings as slaves.

This expresses only the negative aspects of the Association's anti-slavery policy. In an "Address to the Christian Public," written by William Goodell, and adopted by the convention, it was proclaimed that more positive and aggressive action would be taken against slavery and other social sins. Goodell wrote:

> Christianity wages an uncompromising warfare against all form of sin, public as well as private; social, political and organic, as well . . . as individual; sins, sustained, authorized, legalized, and even required and enjoined by civil rulers, as well as sins forbidden and punished by them; and ministers of the gospel, Christians, and Christian churches, should themselves abstain from, and reprove in others, the one class of these sins as fully as the other; making no distinction between them in their teachings, their examples, their terms of church membership, or their administration of church discipline.

The American Missionary Association was to be an independent, non-sectarian or inter-denominational, and non-ecclesiastical organization. Membership was open to any contributor to its funds, who was a professing Christian of evangelical sentiments, and who was not a slaveholder. The Association located its home office in New York City and received a charter from the state in 1849. Organization was completed by the Albany convention with the election of officers, which included eight officers of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, twelve from the Union Missionary Society, two from the Western Evangelical Missionary Society, and three members of the Committee for West Indian Missions.

The Union Missionary Society immediately transferred its funds and responsibilities to the Association and was disbanded. The Committee for West Indian Missions also surrendered its obligations, and an agreement was made with the missionaries in 1847 by which the Jamaica mission came under the supervision of the Association. The Western Evangelical Missionary Association first became an auxiliary of the new organization, but was absorbed in 1848. The A. M. A. was thus presented with ready-made responsibilities in the foreign field from its beginning.

During the ante-bellum period, the officers of the Association were a president, five to seven vice-presidents, a recording secretary, corresponding secretaries (only one until 1853, and two thereafter), a treasurer, two auditors, and executive committee of twelve with the corresponding secretaries and treasurer as ex-officio members. The important executive and administrative

officers were the corresponding secretaries, treasurer, and executive committee. The presidency and vice-presidencies were largely honorary officers drawn from both the laity and the ministry, with representatives of the latter predominating. Most of them were Congregationalists, but the Presbyterians were well represented.

George Whipple was named corresponding secretary by the executive committee in 1846, and was reelected by the annual meetings each year until his death in 1876. When provision was made for a secretary of the home department in 1853, Whipple became the secretary for foreign missions. Born in Albany, New York, in 1805, he studied at Oneida Institute and then at Lane Seminary. As one of the rebels who left Lane for Oberlin College, he studied theology under Charles Grandison Finney and John Morgan. He was ordained after his graduation in 1836, but never entered into a pastoral office. After a short period as principal of the preparatory department, he was appointed professor of mathematics at Oberlin in 1838, and continued in that position until 1846. He was also a standing member of the presidential committee and had charge of the business affairs of the college. While he was a student, Whipple devoted his vacations to anti-slavery agitation, and he was later one of the founders and the chairman of the executive committee of the Western Evangelical Missionary Society. The corresponding secretary's salary was small, beginning at $1,000 per year and increased by 1852 to $1,500, but Whipple assumed the responsibilities of the office with a spirit of dedication, faithfulness, and self-sacrifice. In addition to his executive duties, Whipple was the chief editor of the American Missionary, the Association's monthly publication.

Simeon Smith Jocelyn was named secretary for the home department in 1853, after having served on the executive committee and as recording secretary for eight years. Because of the state of his health and the increased duties of the office, he resigned as home secretary in 1863, but continued as a member of the executive committee until his death in 1879. Jocelyn was born in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1799, and had began his ministerial career as pastor of a Negro Congregational church in that city. In 1829, with the support of Arthur Tappan, he attempted to organize a national college for Negroes in New Haven, but the venture ended as a result of opposition from

the city council and mayor. Thereafter, he was closely associated with Arthur and Lewis Tappan in the anti-slavery movement, and served as officer of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and as chairman of the *Amistad* committee. He was also an officer of the Union Missionary Society and a member of the convention that established the A. M. A. Joceyln was of a gentle disposition and tender sympathies, and William Lloyd Garrison, who disagreed with his methods, is reported to have said that Jocelyn was "full of heavenly mindedness." Nevertheless, he was a man of great moral courage and never neglected the opportunity to do battle for the slave.

Lewis Tappan was treasurer of the Association for eighteen years from 1846. He was one of the seven notable Tappan brothers from Northampton, Massachusetts, of whom the most famous were Lewis, Arthur, and Benjamin, United States Senator from Ohio. Lewis and Arthur were partners in both the abolition movement and business, and made large fortunes as silk merchants in New York City. Most of their wealth was expended during their life in the promotion of reform and benevolent enterprises. Closely associated with Charles Grandison Finney and Theodore Dwight Weld, they had been the chief patrons of Lane Seminary in Ohio, and transferred their generous support to Oberlin College after the Lane abolitionist rebels enrolled at that institution. They had also been prominent in the formation and leadership of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but led the secession from that body when the Garrison group associated other issues such as women's rights with the anti-slavery cause and adopted anti-church policies and non-evangelical views. Lewis Tappan maneuvered the formation of the most devoted disciples, as well as patrons, of the great evangelist. He maintained a high level of personal piety, and practically demanded saintly conduct on the behalf of the Association's missionaries.

Established as an independent organization, without the pledge — or foreseen promise — of support from any ecclesiastical body, the A. M. A. was to depend chiefly on the voluntary contributions of individuals for its funds. The society began operations with assets totalling only $387.22, the treasury balance transferred to it by the Union Missionary Society. Furthermore, it was based on unpopular principles, and entered the missionary field in declared opposition to the most popular

missionary and benevolent societies of the day. It is true that the Association had the unqualified endorsement of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, and it was their generosity that kept the organization going in times of financial distress, but their financial resources were not what they had been in earlier days. They had suffered tremendous losses in the Panic of 1837, and never recovered sufficiently to meet entirely their pledges to Oberlin College and other enterprises. Nevertheless, the founders confidently promised "to carry forward the missionary enterprise with proper energy, having the world as our field."

From its beginning the Association received the united support of the Wesleyan Methodists, and its fund-raising agents were well received and supported by Congregationalists and Free Presbyterians in the states west of New York and North of the Ohio River. The Wesleyans were small in number, however, and the Western churches depended largely on Eastern support for their own existence and were not good sources for revenue. Therefore, the bulk of the Association's support came from New England Congregationalists, but at no time during the ante-bellum period did a majority of Congregationalists support the A. M. A., and many churches of New England closed their doors to the Association's agents. One after another, the New England agents reported the hostility of the clergy, and maintained that the sympathies of the people could be won were it not for the fact that the ministers by design kept their congregations ignorant of the Association or misrepresented its principles.

The income of the A. M. A. grew steadily, with some reverses following the Panic of 1857, from $13,033 in 1847 to $64,474 in 1860. Compared, however, with the leading benevolent organizations of the day, the A. M. A. was not a prosperous society. In 1860, the American Board and the American Home Missionary Society had incomes of $429,799 and $185,216 respectively. The Association's resources were never sufficient to extend operations as widely as desired, or to give support to all the deserving applicants for assistance. The A. M. A. did survive, and conducted missionary work on a relatively large scale. Furthermore, and of great significance, in the 1850's the Association was the largest and wealthiest organization in the United States based on the principles of pure abolition.

After 1846, the Association expanded the activities in Africa, Jamaica, and among the Indians, while it assumed and maintained missionary work in Siam, Hawaii, Egypt, and among the fugitive slaves in Canada. The history of each of these missions is one of perseverence and self-sacrifice on the part of the missionaries that resulted in notable and lasting achievement. In the history of American abolitionism, however, the Association's accomplishments in the foreign field are less significant than its home missionary work.

The operations of the home department were small and unimpressive before the 1850's. In their zealous and concentrated attack on the American Board before 1846, the leaders of the free missions movement had failed to popularize the view that the American Home Missionary Society was also in complicity with slavery. Many friends of the A. M. A. therefore insisted that first attention should be given to foreign activities, and that home missionaries be supported only in exceptional cases. Specifically, it was assumed that home activities would be limited to supporting work in the slave states and among the free Negroes of the North, and some contributors strongly opposed engaging in work in any areas occupied by the American Home Missionary Society. Nevertheless, the officers of the Association recognized the importance of the home field and repeatedly appealed for increased support for this work.

A series of events that began in 1850 served to publicize the need for free missions work in the home field and led to a rapid expansion of the Association's activities in that department. Christian anti-slavery conventions, in which officers of the A. M. A. were prominent participants, met in Cincinnati in 1850, and in Chicago in 1851. These meetings, composed of delegates from various evangelical denominations, were called for the purpose of "deliberating upon the most suitable methods for uniting and rendering effective the strength of all evangelical Christians, who desire to divorce the Church from slavery." The position of the American Home Missionary Society on fellowshipping slaveholders was fully discussed and condemned in both assemblies, and the following resolution, proposed by the A. M. A.'s Kentucky missionary, John G. Fee, and adopted by unanimous vote at Cincinnati, was typical of the sentiments expressed.

> That the friends of pure Christianity ought to separate themselves from all slaveholding churches, and all churches, ecclesiastical bodies and missionary associations, that are not fully divorced from slaveholding; and we, who may still be in connection with such bodies, pledge ourselves that we will separate ourselves from them.

If mission churches were to act on this recommendation, the A. M. A. must be able and willing to lend them financial support. The annual meeting of 1852 instructed the officers to prosecute the home work with increased vigor, "especially at the South, and in new States and Territories where there is danger that slavery and slaveholding churches may be extended." A secretary for the home department was appointed in the spring of 1853. Consequently, the activities grew rapidly. There were only thirty-one home missionaries under appointment in 1852, but there were 104 in the field in 1855, most of whom were located in the Western field, which was the chief area of operations for the American Home Missionary Society. Most of these were pastors of one or more established churches, some were evangelists and itinerant ministers, and a few served as colporteurs, circulating religious and anti-slavery publications. A required responsibility of the Missionaries and colporteurs in the slave states was the distribution of the Bible to the slaves.

Although each mission church was free theoretically to have no ecclesiastical connection, or to affiliate with the evangelical denomination of its choice, there was a decided preference among the executive officers for non-sectarian or union church, and churches with denominational connections were encouraged to adopt liberal creeds that would exclude no evangelican Christian of consistent piety from membership. In church policy, congregationalism was preferred, presbyterianism was acceptable, and episcopacy was regarded with strong disfavor. These factors, plus the intense sectarian spirit of the period, and the abolitionist principles of the Association, resulted in limiting the representation among the mission churches to a few denominations. The denominational affiliations of the churches receiving aid in 1855 were typical. Of the 128 reported by name, there were 81 Congregational, 22 Presbyterian, 8 Wesleyan Methodist, 8 Union, and 2 Calvinistic Methodist churches and 7 whose denomination cannot be determined from their titles.

The area of home operation of the Association before 1861 were the Northwest, the East, the slave states and District of Columbia. In regard to numbers, the Northwest — a term used to include the five states of the Old Northwest Territory plus Iowa and Minnesota — was the most important region of the home department's work. Of the 263 missionaries that received the Association's assistance before 1861, 213 were located in this region, where, in addition to engaging in evangelistic, itinerant, colportage and, to some extent, educational activities, they organized and pastored approximately 340 churches, of which 121 were in Illinois, 89 in Ohio, 45 in Iowa, 41 in Wisconsin, 27 in Michigan, 18 in Indiana, and 5 in Minnesota, not including the churches of the Indian missions which were part of the foreign department. The prominence given to Northwest resulted from a belief that this region "must soon decide the political power and action of this country, and that the character of its action would be determined by the religious, moral, and intellectual training of the people." The truth of this prophecy is borne out in that the Northwest gave birth to the Republican Party and served as the political training ground for Abraham Lincoln.

The missionaries in the Northwest endeavored to promote the principles of evangelical abolitionism by various means. Except for the requirement that the mission churches should be established on anti-slavery principles, make no distinction on the basis of race in membership, and hold monthly concerts of prayer for the enslaved, the Association gave no formal instruction to the missionaries in regard to the extent to which they should participate in anti-slavery activities. The individual missionaries preached sermons on the sinfulness of slavery, urged political action in behalf of abolitionism, brought pressure to bear on pro-slavery ministers and those who remained silent on the subject, petitioned against the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the Dred Scott decision, and served as conductors on the Underground Railroad. Of course their activities did not meet with universal favor. Their meetings were disrupted; they were stoned and egged; their churches were burned; and on occasions they were driven from town. While the missionaries were frequently discouraged, their reports were generally encouraging and optimistic regarding the progress of their cause. The influence of 213 itinerant ministers

and pastors, who provided regular preaching of reformatory doctrines for multitudes in destitute communities, including the members of some 340 churches, was certainly important in effecting social and religious change. In addition to these immediate results, the Association's missionaries also helped to lay the foundations for many permanent religious institutions in the Northwest. While some of the churches they organized and pastored did not survive, many of them exist today as thriving institutions. Sometime after 1830, George L. Cady traced the records of existing Congregational churches in the Middle West and found that ninety of them had received assistance from the A. M. A.

Very soon after the United States acquired New Mexico, in 1848, a member of the executive committee suggested that a special and immediate effort should be made to send missionaries into that territory. He said:

> A desperate struggle is going on to bring this territory under the slave power. The weal or the woe of this vast region, and perhaps this nation, hangs upon a few short years. Slavery or freedom will be *established by* law in a short time. Every effort, therefore, ought to be used, to throw the right kind of influence into these territories immediately. What better influence could be thrown there, than wise and judicious missionaries, devoted to a pure gospel and Free Missions? With a Bible for every family, and tracts on human rights, to scatter like the leaves of autumn.

While Congress debated the status that slavery might have in the territory, and the South threatened secession if it were closed to slavery, the A. M. A., in 1850, commissioned William G. Kephart for labor in New Mexico. Kephart, who had been a printer by trade before entering the ministry, was instructed to engage in colportage work, "to show the inhabitants the advantages of free over slave labor, to promote education, and the formation of Sabbath schools, and a church, to encourage the establishment of a free press, to communicate to the Committee valuable information . . . and to preach the gospel." A most important motive in sending Kephart to New Mexico was to have him supply Eastern editors with information on political and other developments in the territory, especially in regard to the slavery issue, and also on the agricultural and manufacturing advantages the territory had to offer that might encourage settlement from the free states. For three critical years in the history of New Mexico and the political struggle over slavery

in the United States, Kephart labored as a preacher, colporteur, editor of the Santa Fe *Gazette,* and correspondent to anti-slavery journals in the East.

In 1854, the executive committee promised that if the proposed legislation for organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska was enacted missionaries of the A. M. A. would move forward, with other "advocates of holiness and freedom," to occupy the territories, and sweep the "nefarious scheme" of Senator Stephen A. Douglas and his pro-slavery supporters to oblivion with a "force that no doomed system like slavery" could resist. Between 1854 and the Civil War, the A. M. A. sent nine missionaries into Kansas, five of whom were still there when free statehood was achieved in 1861. The efforts of the Kansas missionaries were devoted chiefly to religious work similar to that which the men under the Association's patronage performed in other parts of the West. They also engaged in political action, and one missionary, Samuel L. Adair, a brother-in-law of John Brown, was elected to the free state legislature at Topeka in 1857, and in 1859, he was a delegate to the organizing convention of Kansas Republicans that met at Osawatomie. The A. M. A. realized that its small missionary force alone could do little for the cause of freedom in Kansas, and the officers and missionaries encouraged and promoted the settlement of Christian Abolitionists in the territory.

Although the East was not regarded as a missionary field, there were within its borders destitute groups and "waste places" that requested and received the Association's assistance. Of the twenty-five missionaries commissioned by the East before 1861, sixteen were located among immigrant groups and Negroes. Two of them ministered to German congregations on Long Island; seven served as pastors for twenty-one churches among the Welsh miners and others in Western Pennsylvania; six were pastors of predominantly Negro churches in the state of New York; and one pastored a Negro Congregational church in Portland, Maine. A pastor was supported in Saratoga Springs, New York, for a church that had been erected by a wealthy resident for the town's poor who, it was said, did not feel free to attend other local churches because the congregations were of such aristocratic and snobbish character. Saratoga Springs proved to be a strategic location for a free missions church. The missionary, John Lowrey, invited slaves who were attending

their masters at the resort into the church, and freely distributed anti-slavery literature among both masters and slaves.

At the same time that the representatives of the American Missionary Association were planting free churches and attempting to propagate the principles of Christian abolitionism in the North and West, other men under the Association's patronage were engaged in similar activities in slave states of the upper South. Beginning with the appointment of John G. Fee of Kentucky in 1848, the A. M. A. slowly, but steadily, expanded its operations in Kentucky and into North Carolina, Missouri, and the District of Columbia. The declared motives for supporting the Southern work were:

> The work proposed is to give a pure Gospel, freedom, all the blessings of salvation, and a true civilization to nearly one-half of the States of this Union, who are groaning under the burdens and guilt of slavery. It is to open the prison doors, to save the oppressed and the oppressor, and the vast population of non-slaveholders. It is to regenerate the people, to save them from untold miseries, prevent the effusion of rivers of blood — and unite in one brotherhood the people of the North and South. We seek also to bring all to repentance of the sin of upholding oppression, and of trampling down the entire colored population, and to save our guilty nation from the fierceness of God's anger, by its timely repentance, and to make it the messenger of mercy to the world.

In addition to ten or more colporteurs, all of whom were residents of Kentucky and served on a part-time basis and under short-term appointments, the A. M. A. commissioned and supported fifteen missionaries for Kentucky before 1861. They were located in the eastern part, or mountain region, of the state.

Kentucky was one of the few places that the A. M. A. supported education during the ante-bellum period. At this time, the Association was primarily interested in religious and anti-slavery activity and was disinclined to give direct and systematic support to education. Only eight of the Association's home missionaries were officially employed as school teachers before the Civil War. Furthermore, only three of these were commissioned as teachers, the others were required to devote part of their time to preaching. Of the eight, five were located in Kentucky, two in Indiana, and one in Ohio. The Kentucky teachers demonstrated by schools in several communities that true Christian abolitionists could teach in the South, even though it was well known that they conducted anti-slavery

schools, "proposing to receive, and actually receiving, colored children" along with whites.

The most significant venture in education of the missionaries in Kentucky was Berea College, founded in 1856 by Fee and John A. R. Rogers. The A. M. A.'s chief contribution to Berea at this time was to pay the salaries of two teachers, one of whom, Rogers, served also as pastor at Berea. The Association, as such, contributed no funds for purchasing property or erecting and furnishing school buildings. Individual members of the Association did support the school, and after the Civil War the organization gave substantial financial assistance. In 1882, Rogers wrote: "The friends of the American Missionary Association have made the college largely what it is, and it certainly would not be right to pay no attention to their wisdom and work."

Between 1852 and 1860, the A. M. A. commissioned four Wesleyan Methodists to serve as missionaries in North Carolina. These men established and pastored a dozen or more anti-slavery churches in Randolph, Guilford, and surrounding counties in the state. Two missionaries were supported for brief periods in the District of Columbia and attempted to bring anti-slavery pressure on the Congress of the United States. Four missionaries were engaged in establishing abolitionist churches in Missouri between 1857 and 1861. In addition to preaching a "free, pure and full anti-slavery gospel," these men circulated anti-slavery literature and gave Bibles to the slaves.

The missionaries in the South faced greater public hostility than the laborers in any other area. They were subjected to various forms of intimidation and physical abuse. The activities in Kentucky and North Carolina were clearly in violation of state statutes, but the laws were not strictly enforced and most of the missionaries were able to avoid prosecution. Following John Brown's raid, however, criminal prosecution was brought against the North Carolina missionaries. After convictions in three counties of Daniel Worth, he and the other missionaries left the state and raised funds in the North to reimburse their bondsmen. The Kentucky missionaries were also forced to flee the state after the John Brown raid. In this case they fled not from legal prosecution, but from hostile mobs after efforts to get protection from the civil authorities proved futile.

The Negro was not the only minority group in the United States to receive the attention of the A. M. A. during its early years. In addition to the American Indian, we have seen that the Association supported work among German and Welsh immigrants. Then, in 1852, the executive committee voted to establish a mission among Chinese immigrants in California. The Reverend and Mrs. S. V. Blakeslee sailed from New York and arrived in San Francisco on January 7, 1853. Land was purchased and a church and mission house built in the eastern part of the city. Blakeslee began the study of the Chinese language with enthusiasm, and after a few months reported that he had compiled a simple English-Chinese dictionary. Then a missionary from the Presbyterian board of missions arrived in San Francisco. He had served in China and knew the language and Chinese customs. Blakeslee recognized that this man was far more qualified than he, and he turned his attention to the Mexican population, since the number of Chinese in San Francisco was not considered large enough to require two laborers. Although Blakeslee spoke Spanish fluently and reported that he was favorably received by the people, the executive committee advised him to relinquish the work in 1855 on the ground that the funds were not available for sustaining an efficient mission.

It is difficult for the historian to evaluate the influence of the A. M. A.'s work during the ante-bellum period. Unlike political organizations, it was not engaged in a power struggle, but endeavored to win the minds and hearts of men. On the one hand, the A. M. A. failed to obtain two of its important objectives. It was not able to convert the Northern churches and benevolent societies to abolitionism, and it was unable to effect the emancipation of the slave without bloodshed. The two goals were closely connected, and it was believed that the first must be accomplished before the second could be achieved. When the Civil War came, Jonathan S. Green, the Association's missionary in Hawaii, wrote:

> Had all missionary societies taken as high ground as ours has, would our country have been in this distressing state of conflict? Especially, would our own brethren have been *slain* and *scalped* by those to whom a slaveholding gospel has been preached; and members, perhaps, of slaveholding churches? Never, I am sure.

On the other hand, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Home Missionary Society,

and the General Assembly of the New School Presbyterians, as well as many Congregational bodies, had taken higher anti-slavery ground in the 1850's. We may feel certain that the Association's constant agitation of the issue had some influence on these bodies. Furthermore, when the Civil War came, the A. M. A. had established a wide reputation as a friend of the Negro, not only in its fight against slavery, but also by its opposition to discrimination because of race. From its beginning, the religious and anti-caste principles of the A. M. A. had included demands for social and political equality for the Negro. Its fifteen year history had prepared it for missionary work among the liberated Negroes, and it had long supported a group of missionaries who were ready to enter the South and provide the nucleus for a missionary force to bring religion and education that would prepare them for citizenship, and who would fight for their social and political rights, not to retain any political party in power or to give support to carpet-bag governments during Reconstruction, but because they believed in the brotherhood of man.

Although the A. M. A. was devoted to pacifist principles, it gave wholehearted support to the Union when the Civil War came. On the other hand, most of the members of the Association had regarded the Republican Party from its beginning as too moderate on the slavery issue to warrant their support, and the Association condemned Abraham Lincoln for his hesitancy in making freedom for the slave the objective of the war. Lincoln's moderation, however, did not cause despair in the Association whose leaders confidently believed that the providence of God would work through the war to bring emancipation. After the Emancipation Proclamation and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, the A. M. A., determined to secure equal rights and economic independence for the freedmen, agitated for and supported the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau and the passage of the Civil Rights Acts and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Meanwhile, the Association had begun new and significant work which would lead to a policy of retrenchment in the foreign field and in home activities in the North and West.

In September 1861, Lewis C. Lockwood, missionary among the Negro "contraband" at Fortress Monroe in Virginia, informed the A. M. A. that the ability to read and write was the

great need and intense desire of the Negroes. Recognizing the importance of education in helping the Negro achieve full and equal privileges of citizenship, the Association opened a day school at Fortress Monroe on September 17, 1861. This school, which began with twenty pupils, would later become Hampton Institute. Meanwhile, as the war progressed, teachers commissioned by the A. M. A. literally followed on the heels of Union armies into the South. In 1863, there were eighty-three A. M. A. teachers among the Freedmen, and by the end of the war the number had climbed to over three hundred who were located in every state of the former Confederacy and in Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri.

The number of schools founded by the A. M. A. and the number of pupils taught during the war years and following would be impossible to determine. Estimates made by reliable authorities set the number of schools established by the Association during the Civil War and Reconstruction Period at five hundred. The first schools were temporarily located in barracks and warehouses abandoned by the army, confiscated buildings, and churches, or sometimes the teachers resorted to conducting classes under shade trees. The number of pupils under one teacher might be more than one hundred, with several generations of the same family frequently enrolled in the same class. The teachers were unanimous in acclaiming the ability and great desire of the pupils to learn. These "Yankee teachers" were criticized by Southerners at the time, and later by historians, for trying the teach the Greek and Latin classics to ignorant field hands, but such was not the case. The schools all began with elementary curriculums — reading, writing, arithmetic, and perhaps geography.

The Association, which had survived despite a generally hostile public prior to 1861, achieved great popularity in the North during the Civil War and Reconstruction Period. The Free Will Baptists supported their educational work among the Freedmen through the A. M. A., and in 1865 the Congregational National Council recommended the Association to the Congregational churches and asked that they raise $250,000 that year for its Southern work. In 1867, the Association's cash receipts totaled $334,453 and in addition it was distributing clothing and other relief supplies among the Freedmen and destitute whites which were valued annually at approximately $100,000.

Nevertheless, only about ten percent of the Negro population of the South had been reached by the schools of the Association and other Northern societies.

A. M. A. officials realized in 1866 that the establishment of normal schools and colleges to train Negro teachers would be a more effective use of resources then attempting to provide sufficient elementary schools throughout the South. By 1869, seven institutions for higher learning had been chartered. They were Berea College (reopened in 1866), Fisk University, Atlanta University, Hampton Institute, Talladega College, Tougaloo University, and Straight University. The A. M. A. also aided in the establishment of Howard University, and contributed the entire support for its theological department. Fourteen non-chartered normal and high schools had been opened by 1876. In addition to training teachers, these schools had two other purposes. They were to demonstrate conclusively that the Negro was capable of mastering higher education and they were to provide Negro leaders who might assist their people in the struggle for equal rights.

The A. M. A. not only pioneered in Negro education in the South, but throughout the Reconstruction Period and afterwards, its operations were larger than those of the other benevolent and missionary societies. During Reconstruction, in addition to consistent support for the Congregational, Wesleyan Methodist and Free Will Baptist churches, it received greater support from the Freedmen's Bureau than the other societies. General Otis O. Howard and the Reverend John Watson Alvord, Bureau Superintendent of Education, were devout Congregationalists and sympathized with the A. M. A.'s philosophy of liberal Christian education. Thus, by 1869, there were 314 A. M. A. graduates teaching in Southern schools. In 1873, graduates of A. M. A. normal schools and colleges were teaching 64,000 pupils in the South; by 1879, this number had risen to 150,000. The A. M. A. institutions educated 7,000 teachers before 1888. Meanwhile, the Association continued to support scores of common schools.

While liberal Christian education was the primary concern of the A. M. A. in its work among Negroes, it did not lose sight of their need for economic independence and first class citizenship. Manual labor departments were connected with most of the schools. Through these departments the students were able

to pay part of the cost of their education, and those who would not go on for higher education could acquire skills helpful in finding useful occupations. At the end of the Civil War, George Whipple and Mansfield French, the Association's missionary in South Carolina, were members of two different delegations that met with President Andrew Johnson and proposed plans for settling the Freedmen on confiscated and abandoned lands. When Freedmen's Bureau policies and the Southern Homestead Act proved inadequate in securing land for the Negro, the A. M. A., in 1868, began purchasing plantations for resale to Negroes at low prices and on easy terms. A church and school were established on each tract of land, and small agricultural villages drew up around them. Meanwhile, in 1865 John G. Fee had purchased 130 acres of land in central Kentucky and resold it in small tracts to Freedmen, who established a village on the property. In 1891, there were forty-two families living in this village. But the A. M. A. did not have the resources to provide all deserving Negroes with land, and its effort to get more effective action from the government was unsuccessful.

By 1877, most of the Northern people had become tired of the "Negro Question," and acquiesced in the political compromise by which the Democrats agreed not to oppose awarding the disputed presidential election to Rutherford B. Hayes if the South were allowed to handle its own problems. When the last troops were withdrawn from the South in 1877, the remaining Reconstruction governments fell and most Northerners left the region. The government and most of the public had forsaken the cause of the Negro, but the A. M. A. teachers remained loyal. Although they had in the past faced intimidation and physical violence, and realized that they were still bitterly resented by most Southern whites, they knew that the Negro now needed their schools more than ever. The restored Southern governments curtailed expenditures for education and abolished many of the public schools that had been established by the Reconstruction governments. Unexpectedly, however, without compromising their principles, the Missionaries found that they were tolerated by the South and in some cases they established good relations with civil officials.

Throughout its history, the American Missionary Association has demontrated the ability and willingness to change its program to meet what it regarded as the greatest needs of the

time. Prior to the Civil War, the institution of slavery was the great national evil, and the Association concentrated on fighting this evil through the propagation of evangelical abolitionism. With emancipation making the need manifest for educating the Freedmen, the A. M. A. established the first common schools, and later, the first institutions of higher learning for Negroes in the South. Following Reconstruction, the Association adopted the policy of divesting itself of its primary and secondary schools as rapidly as public authorities in an area could be brought to accept responsibility for Negro education. This policy, which sprang from the Association's conviction that education is primarily a public responsibility, has allowed the Association to increase expenditures for the improvement of its institutions of higher learning. In an effort to encourage the acceptance of public responsibility, the A. M. A. has frequently turned over its buildings and grounds to local school boards without receiving any financial compensation for the properties. The South, however, was slow to accept the responsibility for public education, especially for the Negro, and as late as 1946 the Association was still supporting seven high schools and academies in the South. Meanwhile, the Association has held consistently to the point of view that the surest route for the Negro to obtain the rights of full citizenship was by development of his talents and leadership. Consequently, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when opinion ran strongly in favor of vocational training for Negroes as expressed by the curriculums of Tuskegee Institute and the state colleges for Negroes, the A. M. A. remained steadfast in maintaining liberal arts programs and attempting to give its students intellectual training equivalent to that available to white students in the South.

The ability of the A. M. A. to formulate programs to meet the needs of the time is well illustrated by its establishment of the Race Relations Department at Fisk University under the directorship of Dr. Charles S. Johnson in 1942. Following World War I, the United States, North and South, experienced a period of unprecedented racial strife, produced by the expectations of American Negroes who had fought to "make the world safe for democracy" and the resistance of white Americans to social change. Believing that education could promote

understanding between the races that would prevent similar strife following World War II, the Race Relations Department was established. The bi-racial staff of the Department has endeavored to bring about better human relations through research, education, and community action. In 1944, the Department sponsored the first national Race Relations Institute at Fisk University. For twenty-three years the Race Relations Institute has brought together each year over one hundred ministers, religious workers, social workers, labor leaders, educators, and staff members of intergroup relations agencies for two weeks, seven hours a day, for study and discussion of human relations. Meanwhile, throughout the year the Race Relations Department does research and provides information for civic and religious leaders working to improve relations among people. Frequently, the Department has been asked by communities to provide assistance in finding solutions for problems. In response to such demands, the Community Self-Survey was devised. The Community Self-Survey aims at mobilizing a whole city in a program of research and education to solve its racial problems.

In its concern for the Negro, the American Missionary Association has not ignored other problems of our society. Its work among the Indians was interrupted by the Civil War, but was resumed and expanded during the Reconstruction Period. The work among the Chinese was also resumed during the 1870's and expanded to include the Japanese. While Californians in the late nineteenth century reacted hysterically to the so-called "Yellow Peril," the A. M. A. missionaries remained determined in their work and defended human rights against racial bigotry. When Orientals were discriminated against and excluded under the immigration laws of the 1920's, the A. M. A. raised one of the few voices of protest. In 1916, the Association began work among Mexican Americans, a minority generally neglected by American benevolence and humanitarian concern. Eight schools in New Mexico and five in Utah were established. Financial distress in the great depression of the 1930's forced the Association to abandon this work, but its concern continued. Leaders from the Spanish-speaking Americans and American Indians are always included as participants in the annual Race Relations Institute, and special attention is given to the problems of these minorities.

Beginning with its early work in New Mexico and California, the Association's missionaries have followed the flag. After futile efforts to get government schools established for the Eskimos, the Association established schools and missionary work in Alaska in 1890. This pioneer work was given over to the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in 1920. The A. M. A. was among the first, if not the first, of the missionary boards to enter Puerto Rico after it was acquired by the United States in 1898. The Association supported three schools until public education was provided. One of these schools continued under the A. M. A.'s patronage until 1942. Meanwhile, Ryder Memorial Hospital, to whose support the A. M. A. contributes to this day, was established in 1913.

The white residents of the Southern Appalachians have also manifested a peculiar need as a minority to which the A. M. A. early responded. Long isolated from the mainstream of Southern development, the poor and ignorant mountain people of the South were more exploited than helped by the industrial developments of the New South. Berea College from its beginning gave particular attention to the mountain residents, and in 1884 the Association created a special fund "to carry on educational and evangelistic work in the mountain regions of Kentucky, Tennessee, and adjacent states." Schools were opened that year at Williamsburg, Kentucky and Pleasant Hill, Tennessee. With state cooperation and support from the General Education Board and the Peabody Fund, the Association established elementary and secondary schools in the region topped by Pleasant Hill Academy in Tennessee, Piedmont College at Demorest, Georgia and Highland College at Williamsburg, Kentucky. Like most of its schools for Negroes, the mountain schools were gradually given over to public support, and the public authorities demonstrated a greater readiness to assume responsibility here than for Negro education.

Following Reconstruction, sectarian interests prompted all denominations except the Congregationalists to withdraw support from the A. M. A. Thus, in the 1870's the Association became essentially Congregational in its support and membership. The Association's Congregational missionaries had from the beginning of its Southern work established churches along with the schools. The schools, however, have never been used as

agencies of sectarianism, but have endeavored to promote a liberal Christianity through education and example.

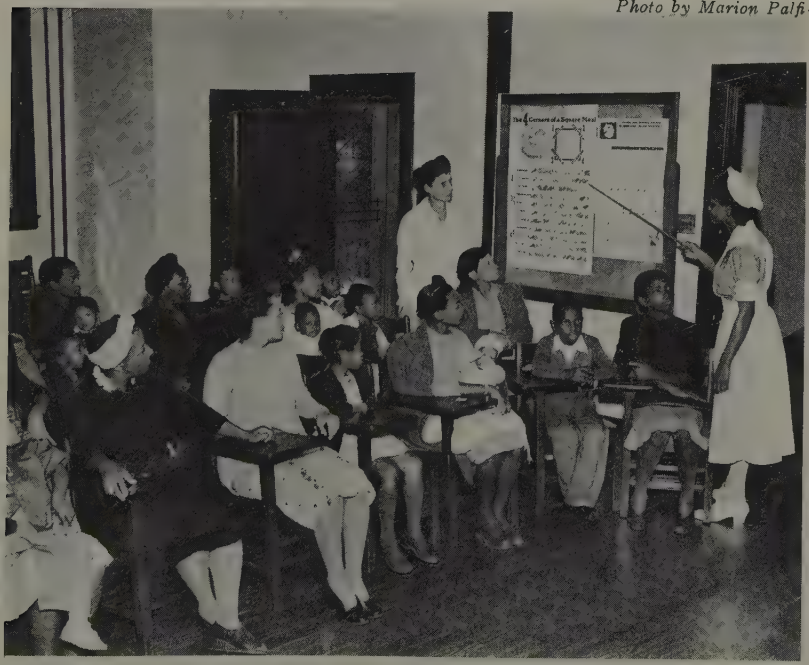
The American Missionary Association today is a division of the Board for Homeland Ministries of the United Church of Christ. It contributes the basic support for LeMoyne and Talladega colleges, and cooperates with the Methodists in the support of Dillard University and Huston-Tillotson College, and with the Disciples of Christ in supporting Tougaloo College. It also maintains close relations with Atlanta University and Fisk University.

For over one hundred years, A. M. A. schools have provided the best education available to Negroes in the South. The Civil Rights Revolution, in which A. M. A. faculties, students and graduates have played a significant role, has opened new educational opportunities for Negroes, and the A. M. A. schools do not have the resources to develop the variety of academic programs now available to Negroes in other places. But this does not mean that the work of the A. M. A. is done. Equal opportunities and justice for all Americans, which were the ultimate goals of the abolitionists and the founders of the A. M. A., are not yet realities. In working to achieve these goals, the schools of the A. M. A. have something to offer both the white and the Negro. These schools have a heritage of liberal Christianity and devotion to the ideals of American democracy that is unique in American education. The role of the A. M. A. college today is not to provide academic programs that duplicate what other schools are doing. As they have done in the past, the colleges must find the most pressing educational needs and develop programs to meet these needs while maintaining those unique principles of their heritage. The colleges were not established as segregated institutions, but were forced into that role by laws and customs. Now they have the opportunity to become the racially integrated institutions their founders desired. If they provide unique and realistic programs, they can meet the needs of many white and Negro students who will not find the programs or the campus environment they desire in the traditional public or private colleges of the South.

— Dr. Clifton H. Johnson

Students arrive at Brick Junior College which preceded Franklinton Center at Brick, N. C.

Photo by Marion Palfi



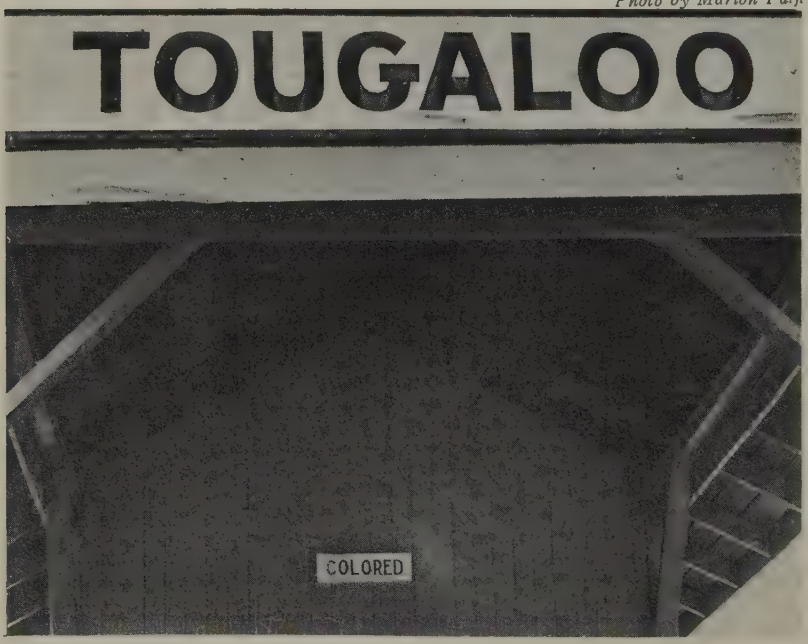
Before public health services were generally available in New Orleans, Dillard University provided Community Health Workers.

Photo by Marion Palfi

JOHN HOPE

JOHN HOPE in his Pittsburgh office when the AMA Race Relations Division guided the self-study program for Allegheny County.

Photo by Marion Palfi



The old Tougaloo railroad station was typical of the old South.

LeMoyne College: Symbol of Tradition

Anyone who has been on the campus of LeMoyne College during the commencement period has seen the beautiful plaques, hung on each side of the columned entry to Brownlee Hall, upon which are inscribed the words "Consecration, Courage, Truth." The words are the motto of LeMoyne College and, in a very real sense, an expression, not only of the focus of the College, but also of the principles of the A. M. A., which founded it and which has, for more than a hundred years, supported its activities.

LeMoyne College has stood, a symbol of the A. M. A. tradition, for 100 years — really 104 years, for it had its beginning in a school first opened in 1862. Officially, however, its beginning is recorded as 1870. In that year the school, which had been destroyed by the hate mongers of that day and then rebuilt, was enlarged and then named after its benefactor, Dr. Francis Julius LeMoyne.

A recital of the facts pertaining to the history and development of LeMoyne will show that LeMoyne throughout its existence has continued in the tradition of the A. M. A.

Even before the end of the Civil War the A. M. A., in putting into practice its beliefs, began to establish schools to educate the Negroes, then called "contrabands" by the federal government. In 1862 one such school was opened at Camp Shiloh, near Memphis, by Miss Lucinda Humpherey, who had been commissioned to do so. In 1863, the school was moved to Memphis. In a letter printed in the *American Missionary* in 1863 (Archives of the A. M. A.), Miss Humpherey stated, "A young man from Cincinnati has a large and interesting school under the apple trees, and I have one at the other end" (of the area).

The first years of freedom for the Negro in Memphis were fearful ones. The Negro population increased. The white population was generally antagonistic and prejudiced. The A. M. A. continued its much needed work, and the school established by Miss Humpherey grew. In 1866 Lincoln Chapel, built to serve both as a school and a church, was opened. It was burned and destroyed, however, less than a year after it was opened, by those of the white population whose hatred

could be unleashed when the federal troops were moved out of Memphis in 1866.

The A. M. A. bought another lot and rebuilt Lincoln Chapel, this time a larger building having two stories and costing $10,000. The building was opened for classes in January 1867. In keeping with its policy of co-operating with the city officials of the city where it had founded a school, the A. M. A. soon turned the school over to the city of Memphis. Friction developed between the teachers and the city officials, and the A. M. A. again took over the operation of the school.

The Freedman's Bureau, which had worked along with the A. M. A., soon ceased its work in Memphis, and the A. M. A. was left to continue its work alone. The struggling school began to have serious financial problems. Dr. Francis Julius LeMoyne, a physician of Washington, Pa. and a member of the A. M. A. had intended to leave $20,000 to the A. M. A. He heard of the struggles of the school in Memphis and made the money immediately available to the school, through the A. M. A. The building which had been opened in 1867 was no longer adequate; it was rebuilt in 1870-71 and called LeMoyne Normal, in honor of Dr. LeMoyne.

In 1873 the yellow fever epidemic hit, and havoc spread throughout Memphis. But in 1874, with the epidemic abated, LeMoyne Normal continued its work under the direction of Mr. Andrew Steele, who had been appointed principal. In 1877 two students completed the full normal course. These became teachers in the Memphis schools.

The LeMoyne Normal School offered both elementary and vocational training, although the latter was not very extensive. In 1901 the curriculum was extended and the school now had a full four year high school department. It was the only four year high school for Negroes in the area. The school now offered college preparatory courses, normal training and commercial courses. By the time Mr. Steele retired in 1908, 200 students had graduated from the school.

Soon after Mr. Steele's retirement, a lot at the corner of Walker and McDowell, the present site of the College, was purchased, and Steele Hall, which yet stands, was built. In 1915 the A. M. A. began to think of adding a junior college. Surveys were made, and it was found that there was a need for more advanced training for Negroes in Memphis. In 1924

another change was made. Under the guidance of Mr. E. J. Ortman, who was then principal, LeMoyne became a junior college. Its elementary and high school departments were continued, for there was still need for them. There was yet no other four-year high school for Negroes in Memphis. In 1929 Mr. Frank Sweeney became president of LeMoyne. Studies showed that elementary and secondary schools had improved in Memphis, and LeMoyne was ready to take another step. In 1931 it became a four-year liberal arts college. The elementary and high school departments were discontinued. In 1932 the college granted its first college degrees.

In the years that have followed, LeMoyne had continued to grow. Brownlee Hall, Bruce Hall, and the Price Library have been built. At present the Alma C. Hanson Student Center is under construction. The student body has continued to grow, and at present the enrollment is approximately 700 students.

LeMoyne, throughout the years, has changed as the need of the community has changed. It has been, in many ways, a catalyst in the community. But a recital of the facts of its development as are listed above cannot give a complete picture of LeMoyne as a catalyst. Founded on the principles of the A. M. A. and committed to its ideals, LeMoyne can be truly understood only after one has some idea of how the faculty and the graduates have carried out these ideals. The picture is made complete when one sees how the faculty and graduates of the College have themselves, committed to the ideals, reflected them in their lives.

The teachers at Lincoln Chapel in 1866 did not hesitate to help rebuild Lincoln Chapel. Nor did they leave when the yellow fever devastated the city. A teacher wrote

> For three weeks I was not undressed at all. . . . One who has never been where the yellow fever is can have no idea how dreadful it is. . . . We have not teachers on the ground. . . . If you think best to open the school again this year Miss Barnes and I will be glad to stay and teach.
>
> *The American Missionary,* 1874 (Archives)

Such principals as Mr. Steele, Mr. Lawson, Mr. Clippinger aided in the growth of the school. Mrs. Alma C. Hanson, who joined the staff in 1922, believed fiercely in the worth of LeMoyne and remained a vital part of LeMoyne until her death in 1962. Mr. Ortman helped the school to develop into a junior

college and helped to make the plans for the four-year college. Mr. Frank Sweeney guided the College through those first years of intense struggle in the 1930's. Those were the depression years, and the College had many problems, including financial ones.

The faculty and administration during the 1930's and '40's were as dedicated as those of the early years. They came to teach and work in the community, and they did both. Salaries were low, but many stayed for many years. Every alumnus knows of the contributions of such faculty members as Rufus Hawkins, Joseph Gerend, Hugh Gloster, Hollis Price (presently president of the College, but formerly a member of the faculty), A. A. Branch, W. W. Gibson, Margaret McCullough, Margaret Bicknell. The present faculty continues in the tradition. Many work not only long hours on campus, but in the community as well.

It is in the graduates, however, that one can see reflected the ideals and principles of LeMoyne and the A. M. A. The College has been the catalyst; the students have become activists in improving the community. The first two graduates of LeMoyne Normal became teachers. A study made by the Social Science Division of the College in 1936 shows that of the approximately 200 graduates before 1900, about one-fourth became teachers, and a majority had proved to be stable and responsible members of society. The study also shows that at the time of the study a majority of the teachers in the Negro schools in Memphis had attended LeMoyne. The alumni files today show that many of the graduates of the College have entered the professions: teaching, medicine, law, etc. Some have gone into politics. But whatever their occupation, a great many of them have been and can be found working in many ways to change and improve the community. A roll call of graduates who have taken seriously the motto of the College would include such names as Hugh Gloster, presently dean of Hampton Institute and president-elect of Morehouse College; Jesse Turner and Vasco Smith, both leaders in the civil rights movement in Memphis (Mr. Turner, president of the NAACP, is a member (elected) of the Shelby County Court); Eugene Madison, a member of the mathematics department at the University of Iowa; DeVerne Lee Calloway, member of the Missouri legislature; James Davis, member of the Kansas legislature; Benjamin Hooks, Criminal

Court judge in Memphis; David Ivra and Lois McGowan, who joined the Peace Corps, Katharine Bryant Nelson, who taught in Haiti.

LeMoyne has changed over the hundred years of its existence to meet the challenge of the times. It has kept, however, the principles of the A. M. A. as a part of all its activities. Its history reflects this. Its graduates reflect this.

It will continue to reflect the principles of the A. M. A. as it, in its present phase, helps to build a pride in a people, which segregation by its very nature has denied them. It will continue to help students have a sense of personal worth, to know that they are a part of the American society, first class citizens in all that the words imply. And above all, to help them to develop a sense of responsibility, of commitment to their community and to all mankind.

—Dr. Juanita Williamson

Photo by S. F. Mack

DR. ERNST BORINSKY

Dr. Ernst Borinsky, head of the Department of Social Sciences at Tougaloo College, with part of a class.

Photo by Warren Marr, II

DR. EXALTON A. DELCO, JR.

Dr. Exalton A. Delco, Jr., professor of biology at Huston-Tillotson College, meets with a group of girls after class.

Photo by A.P.I.

The much-praised Ben Shawn mosaic mural is the major attraction in the entrance of the library at LeMoyne College.

Photo by Warren Marr, II

DR. NELSON FUSON

Dr. Nelson Fuson, professor of physics at Fisk University, teaching the advance science of photospectometry.

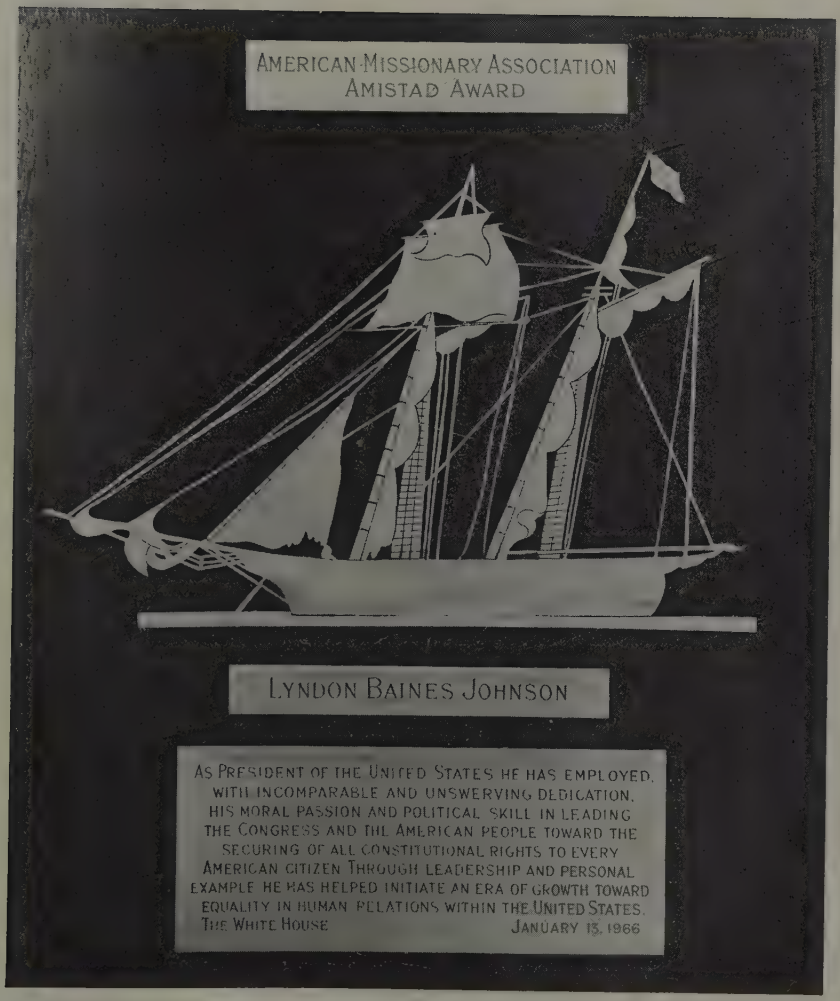
Photo by Warren Marr, II

VELMA R. McLEMORE

VELMA R. McLEMORE, associate professor of English at LeMoyne College, conducts an in-service training course in English for teachers of the Memphis school system.

Photo by Warren Marr, II

A student approaches the entrance to the Dillard University Library.


AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
AMISTAD AWARD
LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON
AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HE HAS EMPLOYED, WITH INCOMPARABLE AND UNSWERVING DEDICATION, HIS MORAL PASSION AND POLITICAL SKILL IN LEADING THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TOWARD THE SECURING OF ALL CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS TO EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN THROUGH LEADERSHIP AND PERSONAL EXAMPLE HE HAS HELPED INITIATE AN ERA OF GROWTH TOWARD EQUALITY IN HUMAN RELATIONS WITHIN THE UNITED STATES.
THE WHITE HOUSE
JANUARY 15, 1966

PRESIDENT JOHNSON

PRESIDENT JOHNSON received the AMA's distinguished Amistad Award in a White House ceremony in January, 1966. The award recognizes outstanding contributions in human relations.

At the first biennial Amistad Awards banquet, held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on May 11, 1966, attendees give a rising ovation to guest speaker, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg. Standing at the dais, left to right, are: Rabbi Edward E. Klein, Temple Emanuel, New York; Dr. Hollis F. Price, president of LeMoyne College and Moderator of United Church; Warren Marr, II, director of Amistad Awards and Secretary of the AMA College Centennials; Dr. Wesley A. Hotchkiss, General Secretary, Division of Higher Education and American Missionary Association; Ambassador Goldberg; Atty. Constantin Stavropoulos, Undersecretary General of the United Nations; Bennett Cerf, Chairman of the Board, Random House; former Governor Luis Munoz Marin of Puerto Rico (award winner); Francis Keppel, undersecretary for education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (award winner); Robert Teague, NBC news man (award winner); Dr. Truman B. Douglass, Executive Vice President, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries; Dr. Ben Herbster, President of United Church; Dr. Howard E. Spragg, Treasurer of United Church; Rose Battle English, soprano.

Architect's rendering of the proposed three million dollar Ryder Hospital building in Humacao, Puerto Rico.

Photo by Warren Marr, II

Puerto Rico's two most prominent citizens, Hon. Luís Muñoz Marín and Hon. Luís A. Ferré, share in a November 18, 1966, luncheon to organize *Amigos de Ryder,* a fund-raising organization for Puerto Rico's contribution toward a new hospital building.

the a.m.a.
its present and future

I am pleased and honored to participate with Professors Williamson and Johnson in this lecture series on the American Missionary Association. My assignment is to talk about the present and the future of the A. M. A. Professor Johnson has dealt with the philosophical and theological roots of the A. M. A.'s involvement in the integration of all races and cultures, and he has done it with skill and insight. Professor Williamson has shown how this philosophy and position were applied to LeMoyne College and has shared her own great spirit with all of us. Now I would like to talk more generally about the world in which we live as I see it from my A. M. A. window.

First, if Professor Johnson will forgive me for backing up into history in order to get a running start at the subject, I would like to contrast two points of view about education for Negroes which appeared simultaneously at the opening of this Century. One of them, appropriately, is contained in an address before the National Education Association by the Memphis Superintendent of Schools, and the year was 1910.

> "Public peace and the safety of the state demand that the less developed race be subordinated to the more developed, under conditions as they exist in the South today. The Cast of Kin is the practise of the theory that blood is thicker than water; and the Sermon on the Mount cannot invalidate God's own law of the Survival of the Fittest. If these widely different races cannot blend their blood — and instinct and science say nay — the only real foundation for democracy, equality actual or potential, does not exist and cannot be created. . . . Southerners understand the apparent cruelty imputed to the God of Israel who is represented as commanding the extermination of non-assimilable peoples. But the more refined killing of today in the South is not the taking of a Negro's life, but the impassive and relentless murder of a people's hopes. But better this than worse that might be.
>
> . . . Sometimes we must be cruel would be be kind."

Here you have a fairly representative statement of purpose for Negro education by a white segregationist after the debacle of Reconstruction when enough time had elapsed to develop the institution of segregation to the point where it could replace

slavery as a form of social control. Education in this sense was seen as an alternative to extermination, and that is about the best we can say for the concept.

Appearing about the same time was a statement by the Secretary of the A. M. A., Augustus Field Beard. This statement reflects a little history but is really stating the policy of the Association. Here are his words:

> "The question now had come before the Association as to what should be the permanent policy — the principles not only, but the methods, of their new missionary endeavor. The prophetic men who were directing the Association believed that what experience had proved to be wise and efficient influences for Christianizing and civilizing white people ought to be equally good for black people. Indeed, the evidence already before them seemed to be sufficient to justify this judgement. The Association had gone far enough to confirm the opinion that the black people could be enlarged in thought and mind by the same influences and methods of discipline which had proved their power in other peoples; this much against the opinions of the Southern people, who held for the most part to the essential incapacity of their former slaves for anything beyond elementary improvement. At all events, said these men in the direction of the Association, we must work toward the possibilities. Therefore, they said, educate, educate, educate! in all ways, from the lowest to the highest for whatever is possible for a full-orbed manhood and womanhood."

Any words I might add to those of Mr. Beard would be superficial. It is easy to look back and identify in a previous period a concept which is now widely held. It is more difficult to see that concept in the midst of the controversy raging around it; to actualize history, as Professor Johnson does, and to appreciate the courage of the Association as it enunciated a radical minority view and persisted in this view against powerful opposition. One statement was education for liberation, the other was indoctrination as a new and more subtle form of slavery.

What can we say of our time? History never repeats itself but it has some instructive analogies. In some ways we are beginning a new Reconstruction, if we can use that word in its more hopeful sense as it appeared immediately after abolition. We have seen the destruction of the formal, legal institution of segregation just as our forbears saw the destruction of the institution of slavery; and my response is similar to Beard's at the turn of the century: "educate, educate, educate!" The reason I can say this after the lapse of a century, is the difference be-

tween what Mr. Beard meant by "educate", and what the Memphis Superintendent meant. It was the difference between liberation and enslavement. Education for liberation has its own built-in relevance. It can never become obsolete. Education as diabolic indoctrination guarantees its own obsolescence, and is a grievous violation of the Christian concept of man.

How shall we, in our time, respond to the opportunity opened up to us by the destruction of formalized segregation? How will we handle our Reconstruction? I have some very tentative generalizations I would like to make before I proceed to the implications of these for liberal arts education.

Modern sociology emerged in this country just at the time of the largest mass migrations of Europeans into the United States. It was natural, therefore, for this new discipline to give considerable attention to the processes by which these cultural groups from Europe adjusted to their life in the New World. Many interesting social theories were worked out around the assimilation of ethnic groups into the American culture which frequently was hostile to the newest arrivals. One of the theories which has survived much testing and modification is the "three generation" theory. In over-simplified terms this is the process by which an ethnic group assimilates into the culture in three stages. In its most typical expression these are actual biological generations, but in some instances these are stages which do not correspond to generations. The first state is the ghetto which is sometimes self-imposed for protection of the culture. The second stage revolts against the ghetto and its culture and over-accommodates to the general society. The third stage realizes its cultural rootlessness as "anomie" and tries to reconstruct its ethnic roots while remaining in the general culture. The three stage process, with all its waste of human resources in conflict and tragedy, was necessary because of the intolerance and arrogance of the dominant culture toward minorities. Only when the ethnic minority is labelled "inferior" does it go through this tragic process.

It would be too simple to apply this theory to the emergence of the American Negro and I certainly wouldn't attempt it, but perhaps there are a few generalizations here on the integrative process which *do* apply.

First, does ethnic cultural integration mean a vast homogenization into one undifferentiated culture? I think the answer is

"no" from observations of the process. In fact, the opposite can be said to apply. An ethnic minority can only be free to emerge when it knows its ethnic differences will be preserved and respected. The ghetto disappears when the majority culture stops insisting or implying that the minority lose its ethnic identity. The Italians came out when the mood of the majority stopped implying there was something wrong with being Italian. They then became Italian-Americans.

When any person from a minority group attempts to emerge in the face of prejudice sometimes his reaction is to go back to the security of the ghetto. He can do this physically, or he can do it emotionally. In racial terms, a ghetto-oriented Negro responds to prejudice by asserting his own racial prejudice against the white majority. This attitude, by whatever name it is called, is really a loss of nerve on the part of the Negro as he faces the full consequences of integration in the face of vestigial prejudice. The return to the ghetto, either physically or emotionally is an act of despair. For other ethnic groups, not so visible, large numbers chose this way of emerging, by relinquishing their ethnic identity and starting over in the great "melting pot". This, obviously, is a complicated process for a person of color. One name for it is "Uncle Tom". Godfrey Cambridge describes the wealthy Negro suburbanites who carry their watermelons in bowling ball bags.

In this complicated and tangled process of race relations we are, for the first time in our history, at a place where integration is really possible. I hope I am not naively optimistic when I say that for the first time there is the emergence of a general ethos in our society which says to the American Negro: "There really is nothing wrong with being a Negro". The emergence of this attitude will make possible integration without obliteration. Any other attitude on the part of the majority insists on obliteration of the ethnic minority. For the Italians, some could integrate even under hostility by denying their Italianness. This is more difficult for a Negro. The Negro has had to wait until the dominant society began to show some signs of a changing ethos. I believe this time has arrived. What does this mean for the educational task of the A. M. A.?

So long as the dominant society labels a minority as "inferior", education must be conducted in full realization of this attitude. We would be naive not to. This means, for Negro education,

that education must be provided which will fit the Negro for competition in a prejudiced society. This means that the education must be, A. Equal in competence, B. As interracial as possible, C. Committed to overcoming prejudice in full integration. It is understandable that Negro education under these circumstances would be strongly oriented toward making the Negro "culturally equal" to the white man. In the early days the schools of the A. M. A. were little outposts of the cultural elegance of New England. This can easily be caricatured as the education of a "gentleman's gentleman", or as some of the more caustic militants of recent vintage have alleged, education to make the Negro acceptable to the white man as a kind of sophisticated "house nigger". But, of course, for the A. M. A. this was a deliberate attempt to educate for equality in a prejudiced society. It was their way of insisting that Negroes should never be educated for any special "place" in society but should be educated for full equality. If they erred it was in the direction of a rather rigid insistence on a cultural style as a protest against attempts to educate Negroes for a vocational peasantry, and I honor them for it.

If, in our time, we can discern a new ethos which is turning from prejudice, then the Negro college can begin a slight change of style in its curriculum and method. In a ponderously prejudiced society the whole striving of the Negro college was toward equality — to be "as good as" the best white college. The objective here was imitation and the struggle was so intense and the segregation barriers so impenetrable that the aspects of Negro culture that should have had attention were neglected almost as much as they were in the white college. Any adaptations to Negro culture and situation tended to be looked upon as an admission of inferiority. The treatment of Negro music is a good illustration. How many times I have heard spirituals sung in the manner of a Bach Fugue! Not quite but almost.

Our response to the new ethos must be a turning from imitation to creative innovation, where Negroes, Caucasians, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Orientals and everybody in the Negro college looks creatively at the Negro culture and the social situation of the Negro college in order to devise a new statement of curriculum and method which will make a major contribution to what is commonly referred to as the Crisis in Education.

The A. M. A. college stands unique in American higher education in this new setting. First, it has the heritage of the classical concept of the liberal and liberalizing education of the finest of humane learning, thanks to the unbending insistence of those early educators. Second, it avoided the period of the denominational college, when colleges were founded more to advance the denomination's expansionist imperialism than for education. Particularly is this true of many colleges of Negro denominations. I'm not saying this out of moralistic boasting but rather I'm admitting that Congregationalism just didn't seem to "take" with southern Negroes. Third, the A. M. A. college combines a commitment to classical liberal education with a purposive relevance to the most fundamental social and moral problem of contemporary society.

To illustrate the extraordinary opportunity confronting the A. M. A. college I would like to take Professor Daniel Bell's list of six purposes for general education* and comment briefly on their meaning for the Negro college.

Professor Bell lists six fundamental purposes of the liberal arts college. The first three of these are in a slightly different category than the last three and we will devote our attention to those. They are (1) To overcome intellectual provincialism, (2) To appreciate the centrality of method, and (3) To gain an awareness of history. Let us begin with the first.

1. *To overcome intellectual provincialism.*

Every sociologically definable group lives by certain myths and assumptions which lie at such a profound level that they are never brought out and examined in a larger context. This process of identifying and examining the myths is a necessary part of humane learning. What are the myths by which LeMoyne students live? How can LeMoyne College more effectively deal with its own peculiar forms of provincialism?

One of the most insidious myths is that of racial inferiority. Many students (dare we include faculty) have unconsciously accepted this myth of segregation. It is so insidious because it usually appears as a pragmatic accommodation to the limitations of segregation. It is an adjustment to the apparent fact that certain areas of opportunity are closed to the Negro. We have

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* *Reforming of General Education,* Columbia University Press, 1966.

come to the place where this form of provincialism is neither necessary nor admissible. We must re-examine the whole curriculum and purpose of LeMoyne College to see if this myth, or any subtle manifestations of it, are abetting any forms of provincialism at LeMoyne.

Professor Bell points out that there are two forms of provincialism: a primitive form in which a person lives in a completely ordered world governed by custom and accepted beliefs; and a sophisticated form of provincialism of the narrowly educated expert who also lives in a world ordered around his expertise. Liberal arts general education attempts to overcome all these forms of provincialism by introducing students to the broad bases of humane learning. We should not attempt this by denying the need for experts or by avoiding education in specific disciplines, but we must concentrate on the methods underlying the different disciplines. This brings us to the second point.

2. *To appreciate the centrality of method, that is, the role of conceptual innovation.*

Each discipline has its own peculiar approach to reality. The purpose of general education is to enable the student to understand the "mode of conceptual inquiry" of each of these disciplines. This is more important than for the student to know the "facts" which each discipline has discovered by its particular approach. The "how" of knowing is much more important than the "what". If a student is given only the end result of intellectual inquiry he does not have the ability to use the tools by which those results were achieved. This is what Prof. Bell calls "conceptual innovation".

The old ordered universe of the sciences has disappeared in a conceptual revolution. There was a time when the problem of inquiry was just to fill in the missing pieces of a gigantic jig saw puzzle. Much undergraduate education still gives the student this impression. The revolution occurred when we discovered that changing the mode of inquiry can put a whole new face on all the so-called "facts" that were "self-evident givens". We must educate for this kind of conceptual innovation.

The problems of so-called "educational or cultural deprivation" has a very peculiar relationship to this phase of general

education. In an educational system based on the assumed accumulation of certain quantities of "facts", to be deprived of a large quantity of these facts is a great handicap. But if the basic purpose of education at the college level is on the method of inquiry, then the quantity of factual material the student brings with him is not the sole determinant of his progress. Ability to understand the mode of inquiry is a matter of native intelligence, not quantity of facts. This emphasis on conceptual innovation, therefore, has certain exciting possibilities for the Negro college. Any sensitive and skilled teacher can testify that a student's ability to grasp a concept is not inevitably determined by his previous accumulation of factual knowledge. It is determined by his native intelligence which is extremely difficult to measure across cultural lines, nor can it be stiffled by educational deprivation.

Here is an exciting area for innovation in the Negro college which is really one way of by-passing what we have called educational deprivation and going directly to the heart of humane learning for the modern world.

3. *To gain an awareness of history.*

Prof. Bell feels that "the sense of the past and the knottiness of fact are the necessary means of transcending contemporaneity and 'actualizing the universal'." The reasons for studying history are to show the concrete situation in all its complexity, to "provide a vocabulary of reference for the historical imagination", to show the context out of which ideas emerged, to know the antecedents to the present, and to be a source for comparative analysis. Here, obviously, the Negro college has a great and neglected opportunity. The application of history as a mode of inquiry into the specific area of Negro history should be one of our most serious purposes. The institution of segregation has perpetrated a great travesty on this particular history of our national life. The Negro college is in a position to perform a great service to the entire educational enterprise by restoring to education the role of history as a mode of inquiry and by demonstrating through Negro history how this mode of inquiry deals responsibly with the meaning and explanation of historical data.

Time does not permit a continued discussion of each area of the curriculum. In conclusion I would like to return to my main premise. The ethos, the fundamental spiritual climate of our culture, is undergoing a dramatic change in our time from segregation to integration. The subtle accommodations we have made in the Negro college to the old institution of segregation must now be identified and changed in anticipation of this new ethos. For the first time in our history the possibility emerges that Negroes can be truly integrated into the general society on terms they can accept. Prior to this change of ethos the only alternatives were segregation or obliteration. Now that integration is possible, with mutual respect between the dominant and the minority races, the role of the Negro college is of paramount importance in the general society. First, because it is a *college* committed to the purposes of humane learning and dedicated to a certain coherence and singleness of purpose in its curriculum and method which differentiates it from a university. In this sense I question whether there can be a "Negro University" in contemporary terms in an integrating society. Secondly, because it is *Negro,* in the sense that this institution, which under the previous ethos was forced to educate in segregation, now can educate for emergence and liberation into an integrated society. The Negro college now can forego the necessity for imitation and turn toward innovation in the finest sense of humane learning in the context of integration. In the future, the Negro college will not be so concerned with educational models in the dominant culture as it will be with concepts which it will appropriate from the principles and purposes of general education applied to its own uniqueness. I predict that the innovations thus produced will make a major contribution to the "reforming of general education". I further predict that these innovations will be so attractive educationally that white students will come in considerable numbers and the Negro college will be the most relevant example of the real meaning of integration.

— Dr. Wesley A. Hotchkiss
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